

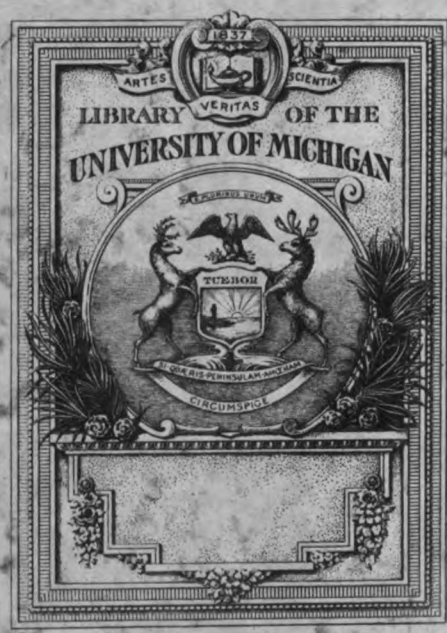


Six months in the Apennines

Margaret Stokes

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...pilgrimage in search of vestiges
of the Irish saints in Italy; with
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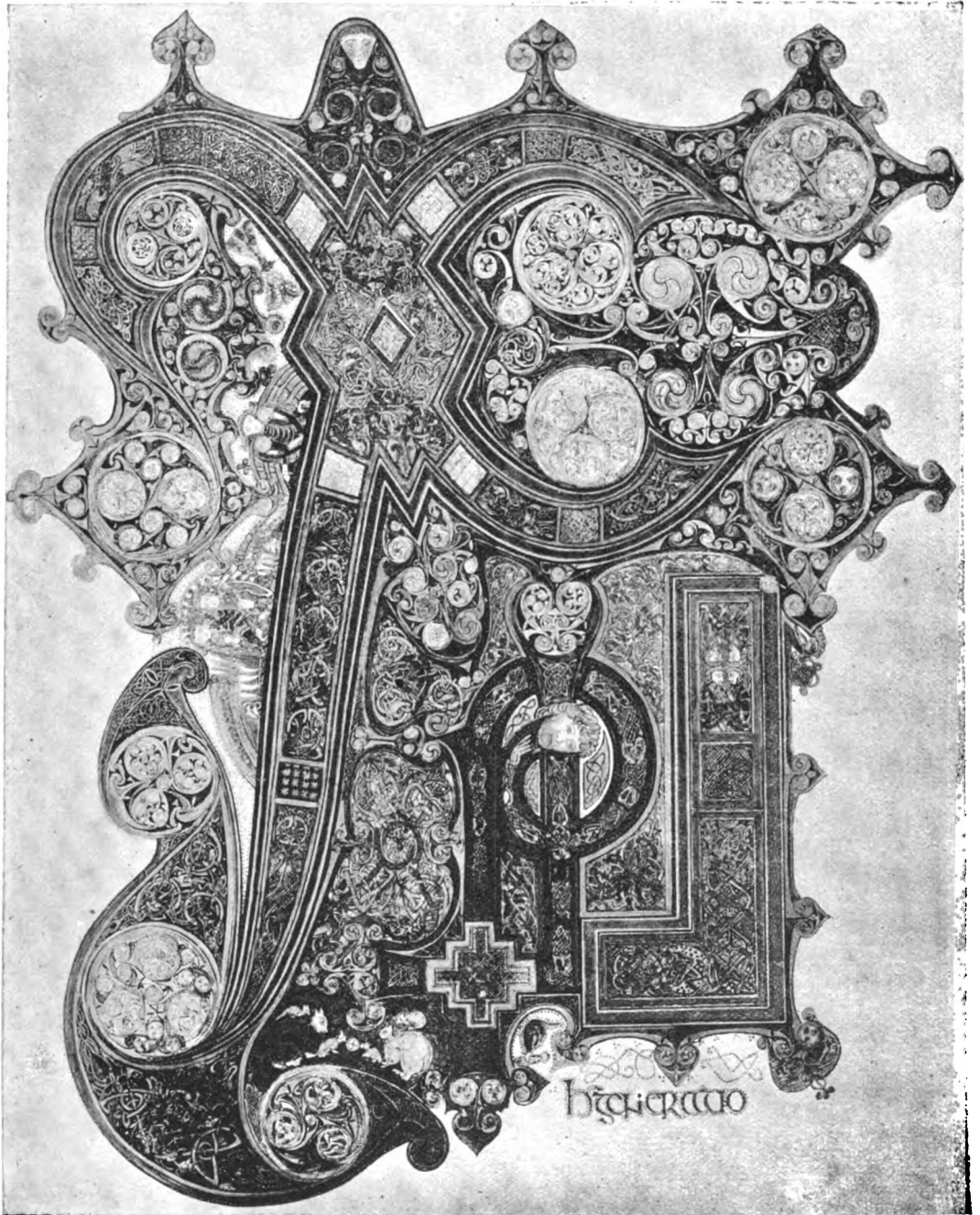


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SIX MONTHS IN THE APENNINES.



MONOGRAM OF CHRIST, FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS.

Frontispiece.

Foundations in the Application

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

PHILOSOPHY 101

Six Months in the Apennines

OR

A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF VESTIGES
OF THE IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY



With numerous Illustrations

BY

MacNair

MARGARET STOKES

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LONDON

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AND NEW YORK

1892



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Dedication.

THESE LETTERS ARE INSCRIBED TO MY SISTER
ELIZABETH STOKES,
AND TO
THE FRIENDS WHO FORM HER
CHURCH HISTORY CLASS
IN THE
LITERARY SOCIETY OF ALEXANDRA COLLEGE,
DUBLIN.

librarian
Helfer
6-18-23
2023

PREFACE.

THE present work is intended as a first instalment of a series of letters from the various countries on the continent where Irish missionaries and teachers founded monasteries and schools in the dark ages. My object in undertaking this work is quite as much to find a clue to the origins of Irish art, and to discover the reason for the development of certain styles in Ireland, as to search for the material remains, the personal relics and other memorials of men whom we are proud to own as countrymen. Such a work as this may include monuments of quattrocento and cinquecento art, wrought to illustrate events in the lives of these holy men who had lived five or six centuries before, as well as examples of sculpture and architecture, showing the conditions of art in Europe which these Irish travellers found to prevail in their lifetime, and traditions of which were, probably, borne to Ireland by passengers to and fro, between the parent monastery in this distant island in the western ocean, and its offshoot in the Apennines or upon the banks of the Danube.

It is most probable that, if further expeditions with a similar object are undertaken, we shall find connecting links between Ireland and North Italy all along the line from the south-east to the north-west of Europe, through Gaul, by the Loire and Brittany, to Ireland; along the Rhine, and through Holland and Great Britain to Ireland. In the meantime, we may notice occasional references to Italy, and especially to Lombardy, in the lives of our Irish saints. Thus, for instance, we find that

Sechnall, the companion of St. Patrick, was "son of Restitutus of the Lombards of Letha, *i.e.*, Italy. His mother was St. Patrick's sister, Darerca.

A Lombard by race was Sechnall,
Of a pure fierce race, whiteness of colour,
Lombards of Italy.

They were called Lombards because they have long beards."

Again, in the life of Senan, it is said that while he was on the island of Inis Cara (near Killaloe on the Shannon), there came a ship's crew from the lands of Latium on a pilgrimage into Ireland. Five decades was their number, all of perfect folk. These pilgrims, before starting on their voyage, placed themselves under the protection of one or other of the five saints of Erin: of Findia, of Senan, of Brendan, Ciaran, and Bairrhe. In another legend in the "Lives of the Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore,"¹ we find mention of the city of Placentia (Piacenza). The passage occurs in the life of St. Brigid of Kildare. Three pilgrims from her monastery in Kildare, rest at Piacenza on their way to Rome, and St. Brigid appears miraculously among them and saves them from poison—when they sing the hymn, "Brigid be' bithmaith," etc.

There is no doubt that in the history of Christian art in Ireland we seem to see two currents meeting, one Byzantine, the other Latin, but is this not also the case in North Italy, in the sixth to the eighth centuries? The ciborium (fig. 2) at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, A.D. 712, is said by Cattaneo to be Greek; he adds that the artist's name, Ursus, was adopted by him, as many Greeks of that time adopted Latin names when they settled in Italy. Sculptures by Greek artists in the employment

¹ See "Lives of Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore," p. 199, translated by Whitley Stokes, Clarendon Press Series, Oxford.

of Desiderius may still be seen in S. Salvatore in Brescia, which church was consecrated A.D. 753. Greek artists were at work in Pavia, on the church of Sta. Maria foris Portam, at the very time when Dungal of Ireland was head of the school there.

The indications we get from various sources of intercourse between Ireland and Italy in the dark ages, are of no little value as bearing on this question of the origin of our Christian arts, and I trust that, humble as the characters are whose deeds are recorded in these pages, the historical interest may be of some worth also. The knowledge of the religion taught, and the religious life carried out, by these devoted men in the dark ages of European history, must be a study at once elevating and invigorating. When the political history of the world was that of one series of invasions, and warrings, and robberies, and treacheries, to lift the veil and find behind it an inner life of intellect and faith, working imperceptibly, like leaven, for a higher cause than human advancement; to find the sacred glow of a passion for divine truth, outliving with its steady light the wild flames of the incendiary, reveals a chapter in the history of humanity that is worthy of reverential study.

I cannot but feel how imperfect the treatment of the historical portion of this work must be. The critic will doubtless question the truth of many of the events recorded in the lives of these saints as unsupported by any trustworthy authority, but the reader may remember that this work deals, not only with the actual lives of these persons, but with their history as illustrated in art. The critic may question the fact that St. Augustine of Hippo ever lived in retreat in the hermitage of Rupe Cavo, yet the tradition that he did so is supported by the statement of St. Antoninus of Florence that he visited the hermits on Monte Pisano before his return to Africa, and nothing is more unlikely than that he went among them as an ordinary sightseer. The critic will question whether Columban really did visit Italy on two separate occa-

sions; whether before going to Bobio he spent much time in Pavia and some years in Milan, and that he then founded the monastery of Bobio; went to Rome, where he received the blessing of Pope Gregory the Great; returned to Bobio, and thence to Luxeuil. Yet these traditions are supported by the saint's history in art, and, though not related by his contemporary and biographer, Jonas, it is maintained by P. Luigi della Torre, by D. L. Gallotta, and by Massimo da Siregno, that they are founded on fact. These writers hold that Jonas, who wrote his life of Columban at Luxeuil twenty years after his visit to the saint at Bobio, by a lapse of memory misrepresented the two journeys as one. The life of Columban by Jonas is a very short and fragmentary work, and though its authenticity need not be doubted as far as it goes, yet many events must have occurred in the life of St. Columban which find no place in this narrative.

In choosing the title, "Six Months in the Apennines," I was influenced by the thought that I thus gained a certain freedom to speak of subjects outside those connected with the immediate object of my journey. I might enlarge on other memories and associations connected with the scenes I visited, besides those of these Irish teachers from the sixth to the ninth centuries; I might describe certain works of art of a much later date, whose only interest lay in their own intrinsic beauty, with which I was unexpectedly brought face to face in such out-of-the-way places as Lammari or Brancoli, even though they had no immediate connection with my subject.

I cannot close this preface without offering my grateful acknowledgments to the President of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Ingram, for kindly revising my proofs, and to Miss Little, Miss R. Shore Smith, Mr. George Teeling, and Mr. Carroll, as well as members of my own family, for the translations from Latin with which they furnished me, and without which this work never could have been accomplished.

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FRONTISPIECE.

The Frontispiece is from a drawing of the monogram of the name of Jesus Christ [chi rho] in the Book of Kells, made in the year 1865, before any photograph or other representation of this page had been attempted. In the original manuscript the outline of this beautiful design has been destroyed by the ruthless paring of a bookbinder more than a century ago. I have ventured in my copy to restore these mutilated portions. The drawing, as the phototype will show, has already lost some of its freshness and precision from exposure to light, and from rough handling in the printing office when facsimiled in Germany for the Society of Antiquaries, London, who published it in a Supplement to vol. vi. "Vetusta Monumenta." Nevertheless, I hope it may not be uninteresting as an illustration of a symbol into which the Irish scribe wrought every design to be found in the Irish School, making it a very epitome of the native art of these early Christian missionaries, while the sacred name it symbolised was the central spring of all their action.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

Carrig Breac, Howth.

January, 1892.

DEAR E.,

THERE is a favourite passage of mine in the writings of Bishop Reeves, where he says: "What a pity it is that a small portion of the learning and zeal which afforded to the early Irish the means of enriching with the fruits of their labours even distant kingdoms on the continent, does not inspire their descendants, who have time and money at command, to follow the steps that have been hallowed by the name of Irish, and gather up those fragments of national history, those legitimate materials for national pride, which remain scattered among the various nations of the continent, and assign to the memory of Ireland a place in the western world which no other country in Europe could venture to claim. If, instead of the bewildering routine of sight-seeing which most travellers embark in, and in which one pleasurable ingredient is an abstraction from home, the well-educated wanderer would keep home ever in memory, and diligently seek out the vestiges of his countrymen, and carefully collect whatever redounded to the credit of his nation, the Irishman would find a wider field and richer return than any other investigator engaged in a like enterprise. Everywhere would he, be it in France, or Belgium, or Switzerland, or Bavaria, or Austria, or Italy, discover matter for self-respect. In one country he finds the name of an Irishman imposed on a

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canton or city, and his effigy borne on their seals and banners ; in others he meets with cathedrals and monasteries where the memories of their Irish founders are vividly preserved ; a proud dukedom owns an Irishman as its patron saint ; almost every library of importance possesses some memorial of Irish missionaries ; and in many are to be seen ancient books, illustrated by the vernacular annotations of a people whose language was familiar in the haunts of their foreign travels a thousand years ago.”¹

Fired by these words, I long nourished the hope of putting this suggestion of my friend and master into practice. I had the zeal—but, alas! not the learning—to fit me for the task. Ignorant of Latin, as of Irish, I had to seek help from friends to translate the lives of these early missionaries and pilgrims whose foreign sanctuaries I hoped to visit. When I went abroad, I met with Italian versions of the lives of the Irish saints who founded churches in Italy. In the works of Padre Rossetti, Fanucchi, Cattani, and others, I found the history of those Irish saints and founders of churches in Italy, whose memories are still venerated there, and these written in Italian—a language I could read. With the companionship of these writings, I started on my pilgrimage to the Italian shrines of the first Irish missionaries, and I now write to tell you the results of my expedition.

Since Bishop Reeves wrote the passage quoted above in the year 1853, one portion of his scheme, and that of greatest value, has been carried out by Celtic philologists, men of learning and ability, only one or two of whom, alas! are of Irish birth. The ancient books of these early Irish writers, enriched with marginal glosses, have been brought to light by them from the libraries of the Vatican, of Naples, of Florence, of Milan and Turin.

“Some idea,” says Mr. F. F. Warren, “of the monastic character and extent of the Celtic church, may be gained from a

¹ “Ulst. Journ. Arch.,” vol. i., p. 170.

bare enumeration of a few of its more famous houses." Then, having given a list of those in the British Isles, he continues :—

"In France : Remiremont, Lure, Besançon, Romain-Moutier, Bezières, Brezille, Cusance, St. Ursanne, Jouarre, Reuil, Rebais, Faremoutier, St. Maur-les-Fosses, Lagny, Moutier la Celle, Hautvilliers, Moutier-en-Der, St. Salaberga, Fontenelles, Jumièges, St. Saens, Luxeuil, Anegray, Fontaines, Peronne, Toul, Amboise, Beaulieu, Strasburg, in addition to other countless and nameless 'Hospitalia Scotorum,' alluded to in the Capitularies of Charles the Bald, A.D. 846.

"In the Netherlands : Namur, Liège, Gueldres, Hautmont, Soignes, etc.

"In Germany and Switzerland : Hohenaug, Erfurt, Freyburg, Ettenheimmünster, Schuttern, Nüremberg, Würzburg, Memmingen, Mentz, Cologne, Regensburg, Constance, St. Gall, Mont St. Victor, Reichenau, Bregenz, Rheinau, Seckingen.

"In Italy : Bobio, Taranto, Lucca, Fiesole.

"This list might be largely extended. It does not include many monasteries which, Celtic in their origin, passed subsequently into foreign hands, as was the case with Great St. Martin's at Cologne. St. Bernard compared the missionary inundation of foreign countries by the Irish to a flood."

If we take the lives of these Irish teachers chronologically, we find that many of them set forth as pilgrims, either to the Holy Land, or to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs in Rome and elsewhere. Crossing the continent on foot, they fell in with mountaineers and dwellers in the wilderness, or in the depths of the forests through which they pierced their way, who had never heard of Christ, or who, if they had been visited by some early apostle, had relapsed into heathenism. And thus the missionary system of the Celtic church was a development of the pilgrimage customs of the early Christians. These holy men, having made their pilgrimage,

returned to found schools and churches where they had seen most need of such, and where, therefore, their vocation lay.

So little is told us in our church histories of the lives of these early pilgrims, that I think it will be well to preface my letters from each place by giving the legends of the saints as they are recorded at the present day in the cities and monasteries which they inhabited abroad, and then to describe the traces of these saints which may still be found in the field of their labours.

I shall tell you the legend of S. Frediano (500-588) before you read my letters from Pisa and Lucca, where his footprints may be traced. Then you will have the legend of Columban (550-615), with letters from Piacenza and Bobio in the Apennines, where he founded the monastery which grew to be one of the most famous in the middle ages. Thirdly, some account of the teachers Albinus (754) and Dungal (834), placed by Charlemagne and Lothair over the Schools of Pavia, with a letter from Pavia. Fourthly, the legends of Donatus, Andrew, and Brigid, who in the ninth century journeyed to Fiesole, and founded churches there, followed by my letters from Fiesole in 1889-90.

I hope that some additional light may be cast upon the origins of Christian art in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as on the habits and customs of primitive Christians, by the study of the hermitages, churches, sculptured tombs, and personal relics of these early Irish pilgrims and missionaries. This question of origins is one that should be approached with caution, for, as you are already aware, the very style we think original when found on the monuments that have outlived history written at the time, may be proved by subsequent research to have prevailed elsewhere at a still earlier period, though the examples proving its existence are few and solitary. The inquiry, therefore, into the history of the origin and development of Irish art involves the questions—how far the style came on with the advancing tide of European civilization spreading north-west till

it was stayed upon the Irish shore, and whether the Irish art, when introduced into that of the Carlovingian period on the continent, was but a return wave of a style already becoming extinct in certain parts of Europe whence it originally came.

When the traveller finds Irish-looking interlaced designs on fragments of sculptured stone, evidently preserved because of their antiquity and interest, in such places as Coire, Como, Milan, Bobio, Ratisbon, etc., where Irish missionaries from the sixth to the tenth centuries either founded churches or spent some portion of their lives, ought he to conclude, therefore, that this style was brought by these teachers from Ireland—that these sculptures are, indeed, the work of Irish hands? If such designs appeared *only* where the Irish saints settled, if these sculptured stones were landmarks on the paths trodden by these Irishmen, is it not natural to conclude that they belonged to them? To answer these questions, we must follow the researches of the later authorities on the history of architecture in Italy. These writers recognize, at all events, four different styles in the Christian architecture of their country, Latino - Barbaro, Italo - Bizantino, Lombardic - Romanesque, Venetian-Byzantine. From their works we learn that in the period termed in Italy Latino-Barbaro and Italo-Bizantino, interlaced bands, knots, triquetras, and other designs which we are accustomed to call Irish and Celtic, are of frequent occurrence, and that in places whose history is not connected with that of any Irish missionary we know of.

The interlacings sculptured on the tombs of Congal, Cumian, Attala in the crypt of Columban in Bobio, as also on the columns of the porch of the Duomo of Lucca and the lintel of S. Frediano's church at Pisa, all bear a striking resemblance to the sculptures on the high crosses of Ireland in the tenth century; and we learn from the researches of Raffaele Cattaneo on the architecture of Italy from the sixth to the tenth century,

that such designs are of constant occurrence in the fragments of decorative work that have survived those times.¹

Interlacings which have all the character of basket-work—mere regularly plaited twigs, are seen among the fragments still remaining of the ancient church of San Clemente in Rome (fig. 1). They form an open-work screen or breast-work, the oldest example in existence of the chancel screen.

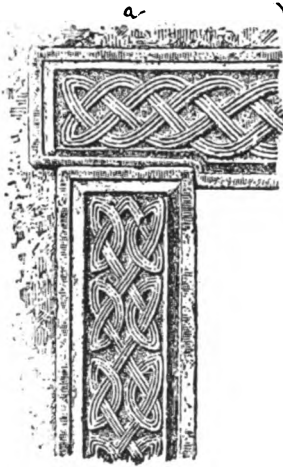


Fig. 1. —DETAILS OF THE DOOR OF S. CLEMENTE, ROME.

This building was erected in A.D. 650 on the site of the older and now subterranean church of the first century. Some fifty years later, and in the following century, A.D. 712, we find two varieties of knot-work. Much nearer in character to the Irish work is that upon the ciborium or altar canopy of San Giorgio Valpolicella sculptured by Magister Ursus, portions of which are now to be seen in the lapidary museum of Verona, while the remaining fragments are still in the old church. This work bears an inscription stating that this ciborium was erected in the time of King Liutprand and of the venerable Bishop Domenico. As this bishop died in 712—the same year that Liutprand ascended the throne—it is possible to fix the date of the work to within a year (fig. 2).

The first example given (fig. 3) of the Italo-Bizantino style is now preserved in the Lateran Museum. It is connected with the history of Pope Stephen III., and is a portion of a ciborium of an altar discovered some years ago amongst the ruins of an old

¹ "L'Architettura in Italia dal secolo vi. al mille circa." Ongania, Venezia, 1888.

basilica of Porto, a city that formerly stood at the mouth of the Tiber near the famous Porto of Trajan. The triangular spaces on the face of the wall above the arch are filled in with interlaced

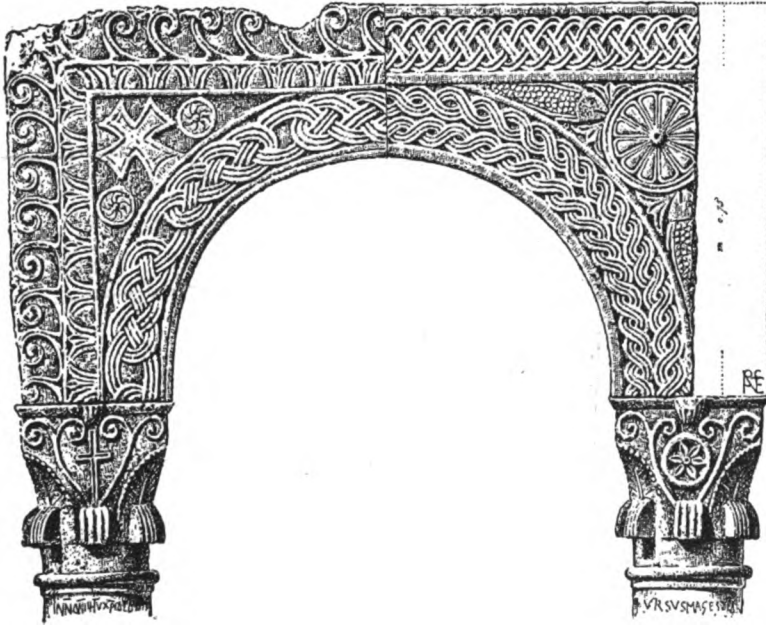


Fig. 2.—CIBORIUM OF S. GIORGIO DI VALPOLICELLA, A.D. 712.

designs—rosettes and lilies. On the face of the arch this inscription may be read¹ :—

“SALBO BEATISSIMO
DOMN LEONE TERTII PAPÆ STEPHANUS INDIGNUS
EPISC. FECIT.”

On the face of the balustrade of the apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere, a band of interlaced ornament occurs, held to be work

¹ This inscription is given exactly as it appears in R. Cattaneo's work.

of the ninth century (fig. 4). Also there are interlaced bands on the face of the pilasters of the door of San Clemente of the year 800, unless, as Cattaneo suggests,¹ these sculptures are portions of the old church built into that which was erected after the destruction of the original building, A.D. 1059, by Robert Guiscard or Wiscard, the Norman invader.



Fig. 3.—CIBORIUM FROM PORTO, ROME, CIRCA 795-816.

Interlacings of a similar character adorn the wall in the portico of the Industrial Museum in Rome. This Italo-Bizantino style predominated in Rome throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the mournful but picturesque cloister of San Lorenzo fuor le Mura fragments of a balustrade may be observed

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

lying among the vines and brambles, covered with knot-work strongly resembling Lombardic sculptures (fig. 5).



Fig. 4.—BALUSTRADE IN STA. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME, A.D. 827.

Again, at Pola in Istria the following fragment is preserved of an ancient baptistery which was destroyed by the Austrian

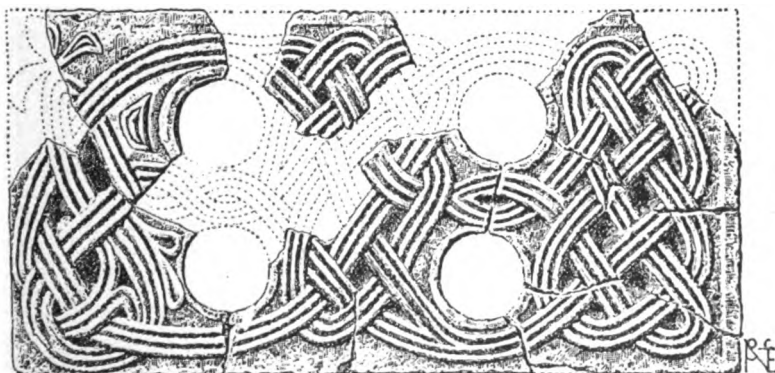


Fig. 5.—BAS-RELIEF FROM CLOISTER OF SAN LORENZO FUOR LE MURA, ROME.

government. It stood at the entrance of the cathedral, and appears to have been one of those baptismal fountains used by

the early church. The face of this fragment is covered with knot-work, and there is a small portion of an inscription which makes it appear that this monument was erected by Andegisio when Bishop of Pola in the ninth century (fig. 6).

Among the interlaced designs found in work of this date in Italy is one the symbolism of which is clearly indicated by the way in which it appears in early Irish art, and the inscription, "Unitas—Trinitas," which is found with it in France. This is the triquetra. It is sculptured on a most interesting balustrade



Fig. 6.—FRAGMENT OF BAPTISMAL FOUNTAIN
OF POLA.

discovered in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli near Assisi. Here two large crosses are placed beneath arches, and the space above each arm of the cross is filled in by the triquetra knot. This panel is but one among many instances of the prevalence of the Lombardic style throughout Italy from A.D. 806 to 900. It made it-

self felt in Rome and on the eastern shores of the Adriatic (fig. 7).

Notwithstanding these resemblances, it would be wrong to conclude that there was no such thing as Irish design—no individuality in Irish art—that there are no salient points in our ancient monuments whereby they may be distinguished from those of other countries. The character of this interlaced decoration certainly underwent a change in Ireland. It was grafted on a still more archaic style, which prevailed here in the later Celtic period, before the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century; the peculiar spirals found on the bronzes of that

time, the trumpet pattern, the even more archaic single-line spirals, zigzags, lozenges, circles, dots, are all woven in with interlaced designs with marvellous skill and sense of beauty and charm of varied surface, added to which is an unsurpassed feeling for colour where the style admits of colour, as in enamels and illumination.

Besides all this, the interlacings, taken by themselves, gradually undergo a change in character under the hand of an Irish artist. They become more inextricable, more involved, more infinitely

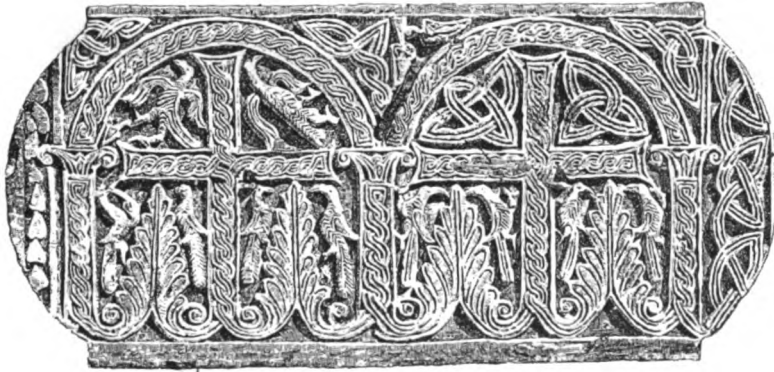


Fig. 7.—BALUSTRADE FROM STA. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ASSISI.

varied in their twistings and knottings, and more exquisitely precise and delicate in execution than they are ever seen to be on continental work, so far as my experience goes.

I venture to hope that this visit to Bobio has not been fruitless, and that the results may cast light on certain questions relating to the origins of art in the British Islands. The idea that the interlaced work which characterized the early Christian art of these islands originated here, and was carried hence by our early pilgrims and missionaries of the Scotie church, may be for ever abandoned. Certain varieties of such designs were developed in

Ireland, as already stated, and if they were to appear in any part of the continent, as has been observed by Canon Browne in writing to me on the subject, it would be on the tombs of the founders of Irish monasteries on the continent, such as I shall now lay before you. But these Irish varieties do not appear on the tombs of Columban and of his followers at Bobio. The interlacings on these marbles are in no way different from those which overspread Italy in the period of Lombardic-Romanesque architecture before the sixth and seventh centuries. It would be difficult to prove that any such designs prevailed in Ireland before the seventh century. They are not found on pre-Christian remains in that country, although they are in Italy. They appear to have been gradually introduced into Ireland along with Christianity at a time when this style still lingered in the south of Europe.

So also with the customs of these early Christians. Did the cave-dwellers and hermits on our northern shores get their traditions of anchorite life direct from the Laura of Egypt or the deserts of Arabia and Syria, or can we find traces of similar customs all along the line from the Mediterranean, through western Europe, to the island of Skellig-Michael off the coast of Kerry? Or if we do find traces of such hermitages on the sea-cliffs and mountain-tops in Italy and Gaul, were they never tenanted save by these Irish fakirs, wanderers who brought their strange customs into Europe from the sixth to the twelfth century? The answer to these questions is plain enough to one who has seen the Rupe Cavo and the other caves of the anchorites on the mountains between Lucca and Pisa, the caves of St. Columban at La Spanna and San Michele in the Apennines and the Vosges, and the cave at Lecce of the brother of Cathaldus of Taranto. They are very like St. Ninian's Cave in Galloway,¹ St. Kevin's Bed in Glendalough. In the first

¹ "Proc. Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, 1884-85," vol. xix., p. 95.

centuries of our era these anchorite cells in Italy were just as remote from the haunts of men as are now the hermitages on the mountain-tops of Ireland or on the islands of the Atlantic coast, and they were in use in Italy from the first and second centuries of the Christian era.

A question has been raised as to whether our early church-builders made use of wood or stone in the erection of their first churches, or whether they were entirely guided by circumstances as to their choice of material, taking whatever came first to hand. From the legends of these saints, we gather that in the county of Down, Mochua, the predecessor of Finnian (Fridianus), built with wattles, while at St. Ninian's Church, in Galloway, the Gauls that saint brought with him from Tours taught the people to build with stone. Finnian built his church at Moville of stone, and we read of his mason and master-builder in that place. This all happened before the date when Columban built his wooden oratory at Bobio in the Apennines, cutting down the trees himself for the purpose. Finnian also builds a mill, and seems to have engineered canals both in the county of Down and plains of Lucca. But Andrew, at Fiesole, as we shall see, builds a church of stone and cement, himself working as a mason.

The custom prevalent in Italy of converting pagan temples to Christian uses has its parallel in Irish history, when the vast pagan fortresses of the early chieftains became the cashels of the Christian monastery, but, as may be supposed, with very different results on the history of architecture, since in Italy the very beauty of the pagan architecture seemed to prevent the development of a national Christian style. The Church of San Giovanni in Lucca, the first building in which Frediano officiated after he was raised to the episcopal chair, was erected on the site of a pagan temple. The church founded by Frediano himself, and now dedicated to his memory, was composed in a

great measure of materials—marble columns, sculptured capitals, etc.—brought from the ruined pagan amphitheatre close by, magnificent fragments which, had they not been preserved in this manner, would have been lost for ever. The tomb in which the bones of S. Frediano were found at the discovery of his remains in the time of Charlemagne, was a pagan sarcophagus sculptured with pagan funereal emblems, among which is a mirror, that object which when occurring on Scottish tombstones has puzzled so many antiquaries, but which has been explained by Inghirami in a passage which I shall send you by-and-by.

Allusions to personal relics of these holy men constantly occur throughout their legends. Thus we find that Finnian, before leaving Ireland, was possessed of a gospel, a chalice, and a crosier. No personal relic of this saint is preserved to the present day either in Ireland or Lucca so far as we know. We were more fortunate in the case of Columbanus. His bell, chalice, and knife are shown at Bobio, and his crosier, or wooden staff, was removed to St. Gall, where small portions of it were distributed among various monasteries, two of which fragments, at all events, were enshrined in silver crosiers, which exist at the present day at Kempten on the Iller and Füssen near Augsburg. He is represented on his tomb carrying a book satchel, as he stands watching the transport of the wood from which his oratory is to be built at Bobio. Examples of such satchels may be seen in the museum of the R. I. Academy, and the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and Corpus Christi, Oxford. The bell of Columbanus is very small, and of cast bronze, such as one might find in the year 900 to have been used in Ireland.

Only at Bobio are any such personal relics of our Irish saints in Italy to be seen.

Many curious legends are blended with the lives of these saints. Finnian causes water to flow miraculously to his mill, bids the mountain to close over the stream, turns the course

of the rivers Garnoch in Scotland and Serchio in Italy, tames wild cows, and endows them with miraculous strength, paralyzes and then miraculously heals a man, crosses a swollen river in a miraculous manner. A non-consuming flame surrounds Silaus at his birth. Light comes from his fingers when writing. The mutilated limbs of Silaus are restored by St. Patrick. Andrew strikes his enemy dumb and blind, and paralyzes him. Donatus tames a wolf, passes dry through rain. Balm drops from the fingers of Brigid. A light and fragrance surround Andrew in death.

Among the animals named in these legends are cows, oxen, swine, horses, bears, wolves, cranes, doves, fish, toads, and snakes. Donatus says there are no bears in Ireland; Columbanus, when he reaches Bobio, tames a bear, and makes it submit to the yoke with an ox. A wolf, who has carried away a child, lays it back again at its mother's feet in consequence of the prayers of Donatus. A crane plucks out the eye of an eavesdropper.¹ Money is found inside a fish. A crosier falls from heaven to Patrick and Mochua. Water is transmuted to wine and to beer. The dead are raised by sprinkling.² Fire is drawn from water. Wells are miraculously produced. Silaus at his birth falls on a flagstone; on his journey to an island

¹ In this incident in the legend of Silaus we are reminded of the curse pronounced by St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois upon a servant who was a thief: "May a crane take thine eye out of thy head, and may it lie on thy cheek when thou goest home." Thus it came to pass afterwards, for a pet crane picked his eye out of his head, and it lay on his cheek as he was going home." Thus also in Proverbs xxx. 17 we read: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."

² Brand ("Description of Orkney," 1701, p. 62) says: "When the beasts, as oxen, sheep, horses, etc., are sick, they sprinkle them with a water made up by them, which they call *fore-spoken water*; wherewith likewise they sprinkle their boats, when they prosper not in their fishing."

he sails on a flagstone.¹ The print of the infant's head is impressed on the flagstone on which Silaus fell at his birth.² The print of St. Columban's hand remains on the rock of his hermitage at La Spanna; the track of the foot of Columban on a stone at the cave of San Michele, where he died.

While such myths are mingled with the legends of these saints, their religious doctrines were based on the Scriptures. A fervent belief in the mystery of the Trinity made such men as Columban, Finnian, and their followers strong opponents to Arianism, which, after the date of the Council of Aquileia, was formed into a distinct sect exterior to the Catholic Church, and, taking refuge among the barbarian invaders of the empire, is merged among those external enemies of Christianity whose history cannot be regarded as strictly ecclesiastical. (See Newman, "Arians of the Fourth Century," p. 421.)

The mystery of "the true Godhead, of the true Trinity," according to the Catholic faith, was the doctrine taught by St. Patrick.³ The "mysteries of the Incarnation and of Christ's birth and of His Passion" are mentioned in the Würzburg glosses. The Holy Ghost breathes in the Father and the Son, and speaks through the prophets. He is septiform. He proceeds from the Son, not, according to the Nicene Creed, from the Father and the

¹ *Stone-beds.* Borlase tells us ("Antiquities of Cornwall," p. 138): "Another Relick of these Druid Fancies and Incantations is doubtless the custom of sleeping on stones on a particular night, in order to be cured of lameness."

² The story of Silaus falling on a flagstone at his birth recalls the legend in the life of Patrick ("Book of Lismore," p. 150), that "when a false oath is taken under the flagstone on which he was born, it sheds water as if it were bewailing the false declaration; but if the oath be true, the stone abides in its own nature. Women seem to have been delivered on a flagstone, holding a branch of rowan tree in the hand.

³ "Irish Christianity." See "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," Rolls Series, part i., p. clxi.

Son. He is invoked in a hymn by Mael Isu to inhabit our bodies and our souls, and to protect us against danger, diseases, devils, sins, and hell. And He is thus spoken of in a tract in the "Lebar Brecc":—

"Now this is the pledge that has been left with the Church here at present for that vision, the Holy Spirit who dwells in her, and who consoles her, and who strengthens her to every virtue. It is this Spirit that deals out His own peculiar gifts to every faithful one in the Church, as He pleases and as they are capable of receiving them from Him. For it is by the Holy Spirit that these noble gifts are bestowed on the Church besides the other gifts, even baptism and repentance, and hope, charity, and tribulations."

The doctrine of the Irish Church on Baptism may be gathered from the following passage in Tirechan's collection, "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," Rolls Series, p. 316, l. 16:— "Et dixit Patricius: Si creditis per baptismum patris et matris iacere peccatum? Responderunt: Credimus." So it was held that the person baptized casts off the parent's sin. Our sins are forgiven through baptism. We are reborn in Christ (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. clxiii). Confirmation is referred to in the homily on St. Patrick contained in the "Lebar Brecc." He used to ordain, confirm, consecrate, and bless (*ib.*, p. 485).

As to the mystery of the Eucharist, we may cite the following passage, quoted in the same work (p. clxiii), from the "Lebar Brecc," as showing the views of the mediæval Irish on the subject:—

"Now, there is another part of that pledge which hath been left with the Church to console her, even Christ's body and His blood which are offered on the altars of the Christians. The body which was born of Mary the perfect maiden, without destruction of virginity, without opening of the womb, without male presence, and was crucified by unbelieving Jews from spite and envy, and arose after three days out of death, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father in heaven, in

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glory and honour before heaven's angels, it is that Body even as it is in the great glory, which the righteous consume off God's table, even off the holy altar. For this Body is the rich viaticum of the faithful who journey along the road of the pilgrimage and repentance of the world here into the heavenly fatherland.

"That is the seed of the resurrection into the eternal life to the righteous. It is, moreover, the foundation and cause of ruin to the impious, who believe not, and to the carnal, who do not resemble it, though they believe."

The belief in the mystery of the Eucharist manifest in this passage finds its rhythmic expression in the closing verse of the sublime hymn, "Sancti Venite":—

"Cœlestem panem dat esurientibus,
De fonte vivo præbet sitientibus,
Alpha et Omega Ipse Christus Dominus,
Venit, venturus judicare homines."

"This heavenly bread makes them that hunger whole,
Gives living water to the thirsting soul,
Alpha and Omega, to whom shall bow
All nations at the doom, is with us now."

It is only in such hymns that we may find the fullest expression of the profound faith and religious passion of these early saints of Ireland. This sacramental hymn is even surpassed by the absorbing devotion to Christ in the closing lines of St. Patrick's hymn—

"Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me."

Again, in his "Confessions" there is a striking passage where the saint would seem to compel his youth to be the accuser of his old age, when he strives to rouse the dying motions of his spirit in after-life, by calling up the memories of the sacred passion of his youth:—

"When I was daily tending sheep, and many times in the day I

prayed, and more and more the love of God and of His faith and fear grew in me, and the spirit was strengthened, so that in a single day I have said as many as a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly the same, and I dwelt in the woods and on the mountain, and before the dawn I was summoned to prayer by the snow and the ice and the rain, and I did not suffer from them. Nor was there any sloth in me *as I see now*, because then the Spirit was burning within me."

But most of all we find this fervour of devotion fed from another and still more deathless fount of inspiration, and that was the study of the Word of God. In the language of the writer of the "Lebar Brecc" we read¹ :—

"One of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the divine Scripture, whereby every ignorance is enlightened, and whereby every earthly sadness is comforted, whereby every spiritual light is kindled, whereby every weakness is strengthened. . . . In it is found perfect counsel and fitting instruction by each and every degree in the Church. . . . For the divine Scripture is a mother and a gentle nurse to all the faithful ones who meditate and consider it, and who are nurtured through its counsel till they are the chosen sons of God."

The record of this early Church of Ireland is doubtless often mingled with barbarous customs and stories of the wildest fanaticism, yet such words as these now quoted show that the seed of life lay, like that of the violet, near the root, and bursting from its trefoiled shell, multiplied exceedingly to shed its sweetness through the world.

The first of these Irish bishops who worked in Italy was Finnian of Moville, afterwards Bishop of Lucca under the adopted name of Frigidian,² in Italian Frediano, and his legend is as follows :—

¹ See O'Curry, "Lectures," pp. 376, 377.

² The name Frigidian is a different word from Finnian, and is derived from *frigidus*, "cold." Finnian is from Vindiānus. The Irish missionaries were in the habit of adopting foreign names when they went abroad.

LEGEND OF ST. FINNIAN OF MOVILLE.

A.D. 500-588.

November 18th. BISHOP, A.D. 565.

AUTHORITIES.

"Vita di S. Frediano," da Monsignor G. Fanucchi, Lucca, 1870. Ughelli, "Italia Sacra," tom. i., p. 794. P. Franciotti, "Storia dei Santi di Lucca." P. Poggi, "Saggio di Storia ecclesiastica di Lucca." Bishop Forbes, "Calendar of Scottish Saints."

AT the close of the fifth century King Cairbre, of the royal house of Dalriatach, reigned in Ulster. His kingdom extended over that part of the province which is now called Down. The name of his wife was Lassara, and she bore a son who was named Finnian, or Find-barr, because of his fair hair.

About the time of the child's birth, St. Colman or Colmóc came into the country from Emly, and founded a monastery and school at Dromore, on the borders of the river Lagan,¹ over which he presided both as abbot and bishop, and, while their child was still very young, Cairbre and Lassara sent him to Bishop Colman's school.

After some time, the boy was sent on to the school of Nendrum, *i.e.* the island of "one ridge," now Mahee Island, near the west shore of Lough Strangford. St. Mochæ, who died A.D. 497, had built his monastery and church on the highest point of this island, commanding a view of the wide inland sea, whose waters are studded with little islands, and whose banks, with their green and fertile fields, slope downwards to the shore. The good Abbot Caelan, to whose care Finnian was now confided, succeeded Mochæ, who had been a pupil of the great St. Patrick, when "a tender youth whom the saint, as he was

¹ Cal. Oengus, June 7, "of Colomb," *i.e.*, Colmóc of Druim Mór in Ui Echach of Ulster, pp. xciii, xcix.

going on his journey from Saul, saw herding swine. And Patrick preached to him, and baptized and tonsured him, and gave him a gospel and a chalice; and, later on in life, he added to these gifts a crosier which had fallen from heaven with its head in Patrick's bosom, and its foot on Mochæ's bosom."

This monastery, in which Finnian spent a great part of his boyhood, consisted of a group of buildings of the rudest materials, in the erection of which St. Mochæ had himself assisted. We read in the old legend of his life that "he went with seven score young men to cut wattles to build his church. He himself was engaged cutting timber like the rest. He had got his load ready before the others, and sat down beside it. Just then he heard a bird singing on the boughs of a blackthorn bush close at hand. It was more beautiful than the birds of the world, and the bird said: 'This is hard work of thine, O cleric.' 'It is required of me in building a church of God,' answered Mochæ; and then he added, 'Who is this that speaks thus to me?' 'One of the Lord's people is here, an angel of God from heaven,' replied the bird. 'Hail to thee! and wherefore hast thou come?' 'To speak the Lord's words and cheer thee for awhile.' 'It pleaseth me,' said Mochæ.

To Mochæ the beautiful sang
The little bird from the heavens
Three songs from the tree-top,
Fifty years in each song.

And for thrice fifty years did Mochæ stay listening to him, having his bundle of sticks by his side, in the middle of the wood, and the wood was not withered, and the time was as an hour of the day. Then the angel departed, and Mochæ returned to the church with his load, and found there an oratory that his friends had built to his memory. He wondered at the church which he saw. He then went to the residence, and none knew him there. But when he told his story, and how he had been treated by the bird, they all believed him, and they knelt to him, and made a shrine out of the wood he carried, and afterwards built a church on the spot where he had listened to the bird."

The long-forgotten remains of the church of Mochæ¹ were

¹ See Reeves, "Eccl. Antiqs. of Down and Connor," p. 195, and the same author's paper in "Ulster Journal Archæol.," vol. iv., p. 136.

discovered and identified by Bishop Reeves on Mahee Island, lying at about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and nearly all under tillage (fig. 8).

The western portion of the island rises from the water by a gentle slope to the elevation of sixty-six feet, and is surmounted by a small ivy-mantled ruin. On approaching this object, the way leads through a gap, in what appear to be the remains of a large circular enclosure. Ascending from this, a second nearly

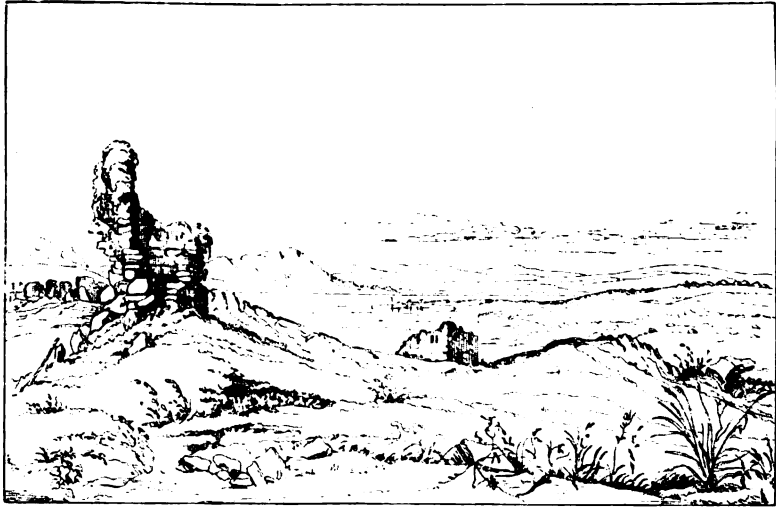


Fig. 8.—RUINS ON MAHEE ISLAND.
From sketch by J. H. Burgess.

concentric ring, apparently the foundation of a wall or terrace, is crossed; and within this, at an interval of about fifty yards, a third ring, which encloses a nearly level space about seventy yards in diameter. The outermost and lowest is in part defaced by cultivation. Near the centre of this platform stood the church, of which nothing but the foundations remain. . . . The building stood east north-east. At the west end were two shallow buttresses, formed by the continuation of the side walls beyond the west angles. At a distance of forty-three feet to the

north-west stand the remains of the round tower, about nine feet high. It is built of undressed stones very firmly cemented together by grouting. The upper storey of this tower would command a view of nearly the whole length of Strangford Lough. Within the inmost enclosure were found traces of buildings, but so indistinct that no satisfactory opinion could be formed of their original design. Outside the enclosures, on the east, is a well artificially closed in. At the foot of the eminence on which the church stands, to the east, is a creek, which appears to have been the usual landing-place. Here some remains of rude stone works may still be seen, probably the "*Portus Insulæ coram Monasterio*," at which, according to the biographer of St. Finnian, certain ships arrived from Britain, while the saint was still at the school of Nendrum. On board these vessels was a certain Bishop Nennio, who, with several of his disciples, had come from a monastery founded by St. Ninian on the opposite shores of Galloway, in Wigtonshire, called *Candida Casa*. The young Finnian begged leave from St. Caelan to accompany these visitors on their return, which permission was readily granted. So, sailing southward through the islands of the lake, they were carried out to sea by the swiftly receding tide, and borne across the narrow channel that separated the Ards of Down from Mull of Galloway.

This school, the third at which St. Finnian studied before he went upon his pilgrimage, had been already a century in existence. Its founder, St. Ninian, after a pilgrimage to Rome, remained on his homeward journey for some time at Marmoutiers to enjoy the teaching of its founder, St. Martin of Tours; and Aelred, in his life of our saint, particularly mentions that he brought with him from that monastery some skilled masons, by whose aid he desired to erect a church at home on the model of those which he had seen in Italy and France. He chose for its site this sheltered spot on the southern promontory of Galloway, enclosed by the sea on all sides except to the north, and commanding a distant view of the heights of Cumberland and of the Isle of Man. The church was built of chiselled stone, a style of edifice, as Bede informs us, till then unheard of in North Britain, from which circumstance it became known as *Candida Casa*, and in the British language it was called *Whitherne*, that is, "*The White House*," which name the district retains to the

present day. On hearing of the death of St. Martin, Ninian dedicated this church to his memory. This saint died A.D. 401. In his old age he passed much of his time in a cave preparing for the judgment of God. This cave may still be seen in the middle of a high white cliff over the shore of Galloway above the waters of the Irish sea (fig. 9).

The general aspect of the cliffs and shore is westerly, but the



Fig. 9.—ST. NINIAN'S CAVE.

cave opens to the south, in an angle formed by the projecting cliff with the shingly beach which stretches across the mouth of Physgil Glen. It is about twenty-five feet above the present high-water limit, and has been excavated by the action of the sea, which in a bygone geological period washed a raised beach along the coast of Wigtonshire. Six stones carved with incised crosses of a very archaic type attest the sanctity of this spot, and one high cross of later date, covered with interlaced ornament, bears a Runic inscription.

Finnian spent some years in this monastery of Candida Casa, being desirous of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. It would appear that up to this date the Bible, as revised by St. Jerome, had not yet reached Ireland, and it is very probable that the Irish saint heard now for the first time of the revision at this school in Galloway. Its founder had been in Rome about the year 381, and was being instructed in the sacred Scriptures under the guidance of Pope Damasus when St. Jerome was at work on his version ; and it appears to have been the object of St. Finnian, in his first pilgrimage to Italy, to journey to Rome and secure this treasure for his native country. He probably reached the continent through Britain ; traces of his memory are still to be found at Garnoch and Kilwinning in Ayrshire, and at Holywood and Dalry in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries. He is said to have worked the same miracle in Ayrshire as afterwards in Italy, turning the course of the river Garnoch as he turned that of the river Serchio in Tuscany when he was Bishop of Lucca ; and, while he was preaching the faith at Kilwinning, in the same shire, " he made with his own hands a stone cross, of marvellous workmanship, in honour of blessed Brigida the Virgin." His holy well and his cashel are still pointed out at Holywood and Dalry.

When he reached Rome, Pelagius I., who then occupied the pontifical chair, bade him welcome and confided him to the care of the canons of S. Giovanni in Laterano, to be educated in ecclesiastical discipline. He remained three months in the holy city, and then the pope, seeing that through his ability and zeal he was destined for the struggle with heresies already making way in the British Isles, sent him back to complete the conversion of Ireland left incomplete by the death of St. Patrick ; and, when he was starting from Rome, it is expressly stated that the pontiff confided to him certain codices of the Old and New Testament, exhorting him and his fellow-countrymen to believe in them.

The belief that Finnian, on his return to Ireland, brought with him a new and more perfect copy of the Scriptures than had hitherto reached her shores, seems to be confirmed by the native traditions of the saint, and the following curious passages in the " Martyrology of Oengus " and the notes upon it from the " Lebar Brecc."

Cal. Oengus, Sept. 10, Finnian, "A body of red gold with purity : over a sea came he : a sage for whom Ireland was sad : Find Barr of Magh Bile" (*i.e.* Moville). Note 10: "*With purity*, that is, with the Gospel, which is the new law ; for it is he that first brought the gospel into Ireland. Find Barr, *i.* white hair was on him, *i.e.* Finden."¹

The author of the ancient life of Finnian in the MS. preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Cologne also states that he brought from Rome a wonderful copy of the Gospels possessed of miraculous virtues. It was said of this particular copy that God gave it such virtue that, if anyone swore falsely by it, he was punished with death or madness in the same year. Many legends are related as to this wondrous book.² Thus it appears that Fintan, a pupil of St. Comgall of Bangor, once asked St. Finnian for a loan of his volume of the Gospels that he might read it, but his request was pre-emptorily refused. Fintan complained to his master, who told him to be faithful and that perhaps he should soon have that very copy of the Gospels. The next night Moville was plundered by pirates, who with other spoils carried off the precious volume. St. Fintan was praying under a large tree on the sea-shore near to the place where the pirates had landed, and he heard them, when preparing for their departure, consulting about plundering St. Comgall's abbey also ; but, lo ! a sudden storm arose, the tree was blown down upon the ships, which were all destroyed, and the pirates drowned. But their spoil, with the book of the Gospels, was found upon the shore, and thus St. Fintan obtained his desire.³

The story of St. Columba's transcript of the book of the Gospels,⁴

¹ See "Cal. Oengus," pp. cxxxvii-cxlv.

² F. Colgan, "Actt. SS.," p. 638, cap. iii.

³ Todd, "St. Patrick," p. 105 ; Colg., "Actt. SS.," in Life of St. Fintan of Dunflesk, 3 Jan., c. v., p. 11.

⁴ Some versions of the story of Columba's copy state that it was only the Psalter contained therein that was thus surreptitiously transcribed. This portion of the Bible was not St. Jerome's own translation from the Hebrew, but a part of his corrected version of the deutro-canonical books of the Old Testament, according to the best MSS. of the Septuagint. The copy won back in battle at Cull Dreimhne became an heirloom in the family of the O'Donnells. Enshrined in a silver box or cumdach, it is known as the Cathach (Battler), so called because carried in front of the clan as a standard into battle.

which he had borrowed from St. Finnian, is another example of the jealousy with which Finnian guarded his rights to the exclusive possession of the sacred volume. Columba worked night and day to make a copy of the book for his own use without the knowledge of its owner. Finnian claimed the transcript as his property, because it was made surreptitiously, and because the original was his; and the case was brought before the supreme court of Diarmait, King of Ireland, who decided against Columba, with the curious *rann* or oracular saying, that "As the cow is the owner of her calf, so the book is the owner of any transcript made from it. The calf goes with the cow, and the son-book, or copy, must go with the mother-book, or original." These legends, as Dr. Todd remarks,¹ show that St. Finnian was popularly believed to be in some peculiar sense the possessor of a remarkable copy of the Gospels—it may be that what is meant is that he was the first to bring St. Jerome's translation of the Gospels to Ireland. It is evident that, when such tales were told, books must have been rare and highly valued in Ireland; and it is probable that, in some parts of the country at least, St. Finnian's codex may have been regarded as the first complete copy that was ever brought into Ireland, and that it was held in extraordinary veneration accordingly. The legend gives us this important information, that Finnian was believed to have returned to Ireland after his foreign education, for the purpose of effecting a reformation in the decaying faith and morals of the country. In other words, the second order of saints to which he belonged was a body of missionaries and reformers, whose object it was to undermine the paganism which still prevailed in Ireland, as well as to correct the errors which had crept into the faith and practice of professing Christians since the death of St. Patrick.²

When St. Finnian returned home from this his first visit to Italy, he settled down at Moville (Magbili, *i.e.* the plain of the old tree), near Newtown Ards on Lough Strangford in the County Down, where a monastery had been already founded by St. Patrick, whose services had languished and whose buildings had fallen into decay. Finnian entered this community as a

¹ Todd, "St. Patrick," p. 106.

² *Ib.*, p. 107.

simple monk and soon revived its energies. His virtues shone with so great a light that the brethren were constrained to elect him as their superior.

The mill of this monastery lay at a considerable distance from the building, and the time lost in passing to and fro was the cause of much inconvenience and injury to the order and discipline of his monks. Perceiving this, Finnian was inspired by God to build one closer at hand, and even though there was no water near the site chosen, yet he ordered that the foundations of the new mill should be commenced. But the builders, seeing no sign of water anywhere, mocked at the saint as a simpleton. The head-mason even said that he would be content to die should water ever appear in that spot. St. Finnian, filled with faith in God, commanded them to complete their work and give no thought beyond; and soon they who had trusted him least had reason to repent their incredulity.

When the building was completed and all was ready for the working of the mill, and still there was no water, jeers and sarcasms were heaped upon the saint's head. But he, trusting still in God, went forth into a mountain where there was a lake, and he knelt upon the shore some time in prayer. Remembering the Gospel promises that "all things are possible to him that believeth," and that "whatsoever we ask believing will be granted," he entreated that, both for the glory of God and the benefit of his beloved and holy family, water might be sent to his mill. Suddenly the mountain opened, and a path was seen through which the waters of the lake began to flow, rushing on with so strong a current that the mill-dam was not only filled, but the surrounding country was inundated, and the inhabitants who had formerly mocked now fled in terror before the flood that swelled around them, while the head-mason, who had drawn this judgment on himself, was drowned beneath the waves. The people, seeing how efficacious was the prayer of the holy man, crowded round, humbly asking pardon of him, and praying that, as he had provided for the mill, so he would now provide for them, and repair the harm done to their lands. Then the saint again made prayer to God, and the mountain closed over the waters, so that the river flowed by a subterranean passage to the mill.

Nor did the charity of the saint stop here. It even extended

to the head-mason who was drowned. He passed on to where the corpse lay cold in death, and, having prayed, took him by the hand and raised him up restored by God to life.

About this time some of the churches of Finnian's monastery were seized by the King of Oriel, a territory inhabited by the Oirghialli, "golden hostages," in North Ulster. The saint at first abstained from expressing his resentment, hoping that the king would repent and withdraw his decree, but seeing that his enemy was determined to persevere, he despatched some of his monks to remonstrate with him. The monks were ill received and driven from the court. He then went himself, yet neither was he listened to, but cruelly driven from the gate. Afflicted and inconsolable, he returned to the monastery, where he continued in prayer. Then the evil counsellors of the king were smitten by a sore disease which threatened immediate death, and the terrified king, revoking his decree, restored the property seized from the church and begged the prayers and intercessions of the saint for his servants. The saint sprinkled the servants with water blessed in the name of the Holy Trinity, and they were at once restored.

St. Columba, the founder of the church of Iona, was a pupil of St. Finnian at Moville, where he was ordained deacon, and Adamnan tells us the following incident of his life there.

It happened on a certain festival day that wine and bread were wanting to Finnian for the offertory. The holy Columba invoked the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in Cana of Galilee had made the water into wine, and by whose operation also in this miracle the lesser, that is, natural water, by the hand of this holy man was changed into the greater, that is, wine. The holy man returning from the fountain and entering the church, placed the vessel containing the liquid near the altar, and said to the ministers, "Behold, you have wine sent by the Lord Jesus for the fulfilment of His mysteries!" Knowing which, the bishop and his ministers returned thanks to God, but the holy youth Columba ascribed this miracle, not to himself, but to Bishop Finnian.¹ Keating relates another story of St. Columba's

¹ Adamnan, "Vita S. Columba," Reeves, p. 103; Lanigan, "Eccl. Hist.," ii., p. 117.

school-days with St. Finnian. He was allowed to go into the village for one day in the week to play with the boys of his own age. Being of royal blood, he had this privilege. Then, at his usual hour for getting out on the appointed day, the boys of the village used to assemble together to meet him ; and as they stood waiting for him at the monastery gate, they were in the habit of raising up their hands for joy, and crying out, when they saw him approach, " Behold the Columba Cille, that is, the Dove of the Church, comes forth to meet us." When the holy Abbot St. Finnian heard that the children had so named him, Colum Cille, he understood that God willed that he should be always called by that name which had come into the mouths of those innocent children, and that his baptismal name Crimthann should be forgotten.

The school founded by St. Finnian at Moville continued to flourish long after he left the shelter of this monastery to enter on his second pilgrimage to Italy. Here, in the year 730, Abbot Colman wrote a Latin hymn of singular beauty in praise of St. Michael the Archangel. Some centuries later the same school produced the chronicler, Marianus Scotus, born in the year 1028, and afterwards priest at Fulda and Mayence. Little now remains to mark the site of the old abbey-school except a few venerable yew-trees standing in a very ancient graveyard, and an old ruined church, sheltered by an amphitheatre of hills from the north and east, and commanding a fine view of the islands and distant waters of Lough Strangford.

ST. FINNIAN LEAVES IRELAND AND COMES TO LUCCA IN ITALY.

We have now reached the period of St. Finnian's emigration from Ireland and the commencement of his work in Tuscany. It will be advisable henceforth to call him Frediano, the Italianized form of his adopted name Frigidianus.

The Italian biographers of this saint, Padre Franciotti, Federigo di Poggio,¹ and Fiorentini, give various reasons for his choice of Lucca as the field of his labours. The most probable theory is that assigned by Poggio, who says that the Irish saint came as a pilgrim to visit the ancient graves of the martyrs in

¹ " Saggio di Storia Eccl.," c. iii. n. 1.

Lucca in the basilica of San Paolina, called Celletta dei Santi, and that when he reached that city, he made his way to the hermitages on Monte Pisano, and there sought to end his days in this quiet resting-place with the holy eremites upon the Eremitic mountain. Many hermitages had been formed in this district from the first centuries of the Christian era, such as those of S. Giuliano,¹ S. Antonino, now called S. Pantaleone, Spelonca, that is, the cavern, on the side of the mountain close to Sta. Maria dei Giudici, the cells of Rusticus the priest, now called Castello Passerino, and of Asseonda called Aqua Viva, as well as that of Sta. Maria di Rupe Cavo (see fig. 12).

The hermitages of S. Antonino and that of Rupe Cavo were those in which the monastic discipline was longest exercised, and St. Augustine was said to have retired to the latter when, after the death of his mother Monica at Ostia Tiberina, he returned northwards, and came by the sea-road to Pisa and Monte Pisano. The hermit life was introduced into Italy in the first century of the Christian era by S. Antonino, who, according to Fiorentini, Petrarch, and G. Marques, had learned the monastic system in Egypt. It will be well to enlarge on this subject here, and to show how monasticism spread from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of our era, not only in Italy, but throughout all Christendom.

Beginning in Egypt, in the Lower Thebaid near the Red Sea, we have the celebrated monastery of Mount Pisper, where St. Anthony lived accompanied by his disciples, and another monastery on Mount Colzim, in which he died. There was another hermitage on the Nile near the city of Heliopolis, at the spot where the blessed Virgin and St. Joseph are said to have rested with the infant Jesus on his flight into Egypt. This monastery was under the direction of the Abbot Apollonius. In the Upper Thebaid also, SS. Isidore and Dioscuros ruled over two separate monasteries, and there were others besides in different parts of the Thebaid near Antinopolis.

The Abbot Serapion ruled in Arsinoe over ten thousand monks. In the desert of Nitria there were five thousand monks. But the most remarkable of these institutions was Oxirinka, where all the heathen temples and public buildings had been

¹ Fiorentini, "Hetruscæ pietatis origines," cap. ix.

converted into so many monasteries, and the inhabitants were not divided into pagans and anchorites, but all were fervent Christians. In short, the number of monks existing in Egypt amounted to about seventy-six thousand. Monasticism flourished in a somewhat similar manner in Palestine and other parts of the east, and passing on to Europe we find Spain and Gaul filled with monasteries and monks, while the system had penetrated even to the British Islands. As regards Italy, we have already shown how monasticism flourished in Italy in the time of S. Frediano. Although many monasteries had existed before St. Benedict, and although S. Romano, who had served that saint in the cave of Subiaco, had been a monk before him, yet St. Benedict, if we may not call him the patriarch, deserves the title of the great restorer of monasticism, for it was in fact through his labours that the system spread, not only in Italy, but throughout all parts of the west.

Benedict was born in 480 of a noble family in the city of Norcia, near Spolito. He wrote his rule in the year 528, and when, in the year 543, he passed to another life, this rule of his had already spread throughout all Europe. Carried by S. Placidus into Sicily, and by S. Maurus into France, it was received by others into Spain, and in less than two centuries became the rule of all the monastic orders.

Monasticism had been thus widely spread in Italy, so that in the Church of St. Peter itself in Rome, and during the pontificate of Pelagius II., monks were invested with the religious functions of abbot.

Thus, in the other provinces throughout the city and the country, and particularly among the highest mountains, ascetic monks were to be found who had retired from the world that they might lead a perfect life. The French historian Fleury gives us the following account of them : " How much were they lauded by St. John Chrysostom, by St. Augustine, and by all the fathers, and for how many centuries was their institution followed ! Mainly by their means was the practice of the most sublime piety maintained. That inner piety which in the early ages was common to all Christians, was then confined to such monasteries." ¹

¹ Fleury, tom. v.

The lives of these monks were not solely devoted to works of piety ; they spread abroad knowledge and learning and arts, and contributed in many ways to the temporal well-being of the state. The art of silk-weaving, so useful throughout Europe, and especially in Italy, was carried from India by certain monks, who brought the first silkworms from thence, and taught the people this manufacture. Agriculture also owes its progress to the monks ; it was they who first brought the knowledge of this art to bear upon the most barren mountain side, and practised it in the thickest forest, teaching how such lands could be made fruitful, and adapting the various seeds and plants of foreign countries to the soil. Where they could not sow grain they planted vines, and from hill to hill they cultivated olives ; where fruit-trees would not grow, they planted chestnuts, and their forests of pine-trees reached to the very summits of the mountains. Stagnant marshes were drained, and the poorest land was fertilized by the industry of these monks, and ground, uninhabitable from miasma, has been rendered healthy through their means. The mountains of Grenoble in France and of the Great St. Bernard are evidence of this, not to mention Alvernia, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa in Tuscany. The industry of the monks is fully proved by all these works. Monte Cassino alone shows the energy of the Benedictines, and in the neighbourhood of Lucca the ancient abbey of Pozzèveri, the abbey of Cantignano, the convent of the Angel, the marshy land of Arlascio, the mountain of S. Cerbone, the Certosa, all give evidence of the improvements wrought by these ancient monks in the unreclaimed lands in which they settled.¹

These observations may help us to realize what were the conditions of S. Frediano's life when called to the wider sphere of action occupied by him in his later years. How long he continued among the caves and recesses of Monte Pisano, history does not say, but the isolation in which he lived did not prevent the fame of his learning and sanctity from penetrating into the neighbouring city of Lucca.² At this time the Bishop of Lucca died, and

¹ Fanucchi, "Vita di S. Frediano," p. 102.

² The fame of his good works had penetrated to Lucca, as we read in a MS. life of the eleventh century, copied from another of the eighth, "Fama

the people of that city were in some distress, being as a flock without a shepherd in a season of great tribulation, when war was followed by famine and pestilence. Italy had not yet recovered the effects of the Gothic war, which had brought her unhappy people to the greatest poverty and distress. The historian Procopius describes in dark and terrible colours this famine which desolated the whole country, and the maladies that ensued and destroyed so many of its inhabitants. He tells of famished wretches who wandered about in search of corpses wherewith to satisfy their hunger. "Many of the people," he says, "lived only on the nettles which grew in great quantities everywhere on the walls and ruins of the city. But as this food did not suffice for them, and they had not even of it as much as they could eat, their bodies gradually wasted away. And their colour having soon become livid made them look exactly like spectres. And many, while walking and still chewing the nettles between their teeth, suddenly fell to the ground dead. And there was one, a father of five children, who surrounded him, dragging at his garments and imploring him for food. But he, neither lamenting aloud nor letting his confusion be seen, but hiding away his misery with great strength of mind, desired his children to follow him as if he would give them food. And when he reached the bridge over the Tiber, having put his cloak to his face, and covered his eyes with it, flung himself into the river in the sight of his children."¹ In like manner famine and pestilence had so thinned the ranks of the churches that the Lucchesians had to turn to a foreigner to fill the episcopal chair of Lucca, and even Pope John II. himself had to command Frediano to ascend the chair. For the Irish saint loved the anchorite life, and for a long time could not be persuaded to accept the office.

San Giovanni e Reparata was at this time the principal church in Lucca, and was always regarded as the first baptismal church or *Pieve* of the city, until its prerogatives were ceded to the Cathedral of S. Martino. S. Frediano occupied the episcopal chair in San Giovanni for seven years in peace, and here, according to the ancient custom in those *Pievi*, he held special baptismal

de eo boni operis circumquaque crebrescente, a populo Lucanæ Civitatis eremum deserere coactus est.—Codice A. ed F. fol. 96, Archivi de Lucca.

¹ "Early Chroniclers of Italy," Ugo Balzani, pp. 29, 30.

services at three seasons in the year, the vigils of the Epiphany, of Easter, and of Pentecost. After the lapse of seven years he was driven forth by the Lombard invaders, who sacked and burned this ancient basilica, which was not restored till the beginning of the twelfth century.

Italy was now again subject to the Emperor, who was represented by an exarch or ruler dwelling at Ravenna. But the destruction of the Goths left the northern provinces undefended, and the Lombards, a wild Teutonic people, had come down from the eastern bank of the Elbe to the Danube and onward into Pannonia, whence descending they attempted the conquest of the fruitful lands of Italy. The dominion of the Lombards began in Friuli, and thence extended over a great part of Italy. They lived rudely, and treated the vanquished with ferocity, differing from them in religion, being in part Arians, in part idolaters. Rapine and slaughter spread misery and desolation around, and justified the lamentations of Pope Pelagius when writing to Bishop Aunacarius of Auxerre: "And how shall we not mourn when we see so much innocent blood shed before our eyes, the altars desecrated, and the Catholic faith insulted by these idolaters?" It is true that this was not their first appearance in the country, since many years before they had made acquaintance with it, when invited by Narses to form an auxiliary army to aid him in his war against the Goths. They had not then come as invaders, and when the war was ended the exarch had sent them back quietly, loaded with gifts, to their own country; but, after the lapse of some years, they determined to emigrate from their savage lands, and, in league with their friends and confederates the Huns, to seize on a kingdom so much richer and more fertile than their own. Thus it happened that, in the year 568, Alboin, King of the Lombards, appeared upon the Julian Alps, which formed the gates of Italy on the eastern side, and from the heights of these mountains they hailed with savage cries the first sight of that land they longed to conquer. So great was the consternation of the Italians at the appearance of Alboin among them, that abandoning their cities in crowds they sought refuge in the neighbouring islands, and doubtless there were not a few ecclesiastics among the people who acted in like manner. Thus Onorato, Archbishop of Milan, abandoned

his church, and hid himself in Genoa, where he died; and Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, fled from his diocese to seek concealment in Grado, one of the islands of the Adriatic, where within a year he also died. The Lombards then occupied the whole of Liguria; they seized all the cities in that country except Pavia, which held out for three years in a state of siege, but which also finally succumbed. This city then became the royal residence of Alboin, and remained the capital city till his death, which was brought about by the arts of his wife Rosamund. The story gives a vivid picture of the barbarity of these invaders. Alboin had maddened his wife by an insult offered to her dead father Cunimond's head. He had taken the old man's skull and used it as a drinking cup at a great feast, and forced the queen herself to drink therefrom. She in revenge conspired with two of her followers to murder the king her husband. She concealed them in the royal apartments, where they surprised and slew him with a hundred blows. She then fled with one of these murderers to Ravenna, where she became his wife, and they closed the terrible drama by taking poison from each other's hands.

Thus Alboin died in Tuscany, after having brought the country under his yoke. The reign of Cleph succeeded to that of Alboin, and, after the space of eighteen months, he also was murdered. After his death, the Lombards remained ten years without a king. The portion of Italy they had conquered was divided into thirty dukedoms, each independent of the other. While this kind of oligarchy, or rather anarchy, lasted, churches were despoiled, bishops murdered, the people robbed, and the cities ruined. The ancient city of Populonia was reduced to a heap of stones. The Bishop Cerbone was obliged to fly to the island of Elba, where he died. This irruption of the Lombards into Italy is described by Gregory the Great as the most tremendous persecution the Church has yet endured.¹ He says, "Cities are despoiled, fortresses levelled, churches burned, monasteries for men and for women destroyed, and the entire country abandoned by the tillers of the soil, so that the whole land is left to solitude without inhabitants, who once lived there in multitudes, but whose place was now filled by wild beasts."

¹ St. Greg., lib. iii., Dialog. cap. 36.

"In such a confusion of things," writes Platina,¹ "the state of Italy must needs certainly have been utterly ruined if some eminently holy men had not supported and propped up the tottering nation."

The Italian historian of the life of Frediano proudly asserts that the Irish saint was not among the Lombard bishops who were, as we have seen, constrained to fly, but that he assumed office in the very midst of this terrible crisis. He formed one of the small band of holy men who fought by patience and steadfast endeavour against the wild forces of anarchy that threatened to overwhelm the country; for Tuscany was in no way spared. In those days the diocese of Lucca committed to his charge embraced a far wider extent of country than it does at present. The Florentine antiquary Lami has proved that it formerly extended over the Val di Nievole, the Val d'Arno, the Val d'Elsa, the mountains of Pisa, the country round Leghorn, including also the cities of Pistoia, Florence, and Volterra. Not only was this wide district laid waste, but the city of Lucca was in a great measure destroyed. It has been proved by the learned Pietro Pizzetti, in vol. i. of his "*Antichità Toscane*," that Lucca in the sixth century was a city of greater extent than it was in the eighth century, and Muratori refers to a record in one of the ancient charts of Lucca, dated 790, where the church of Lucca is said to have been burnt to the ground. This is all corroborated by the excavations conducted by Marchio and Penitesi, the result of which has been to show that the lowest foundations of the city are nine feet beneath the level of the modern foundations, and that at this lowest level ruins and broken walls are found, proving that Lucca had been devastated at a very early date. Thus the abundant documentary information of the havoc committed in the beginning of the Lombard invasion is supported by monumental evidence which cannot be gainsaid.²

S. FREDIANO CONVERTS THE LOMBARDS.

When the ferocity of these new masters of Italy had subsided, Frediano set to work to rebuild the walls of his city and restore its cathedral.

¹ B. Platina, "*Lives of the Popes*," translated by Rev. W. Benham, pp. 132, 135

² Muratori, "*Diss. 37*," "*Antichità Italiane*," col. 561.

It was either because he held it wiser to abandon the original site of the church which had been sacked, burned, and almost wholly destroyed, or that he thought it safer to move the seat of his labours to the open country, that S. Frediano decided on building his new church outside the northern walls of the city. This church, which is now called after the founder San Frediano, he dedicated originally to SS. Vincent and Laurence. He never abandoned his dismayed flock, or left them without the comfort of his counsel, as we read in his Acts: "He showed goodwill and charity to all; generous to the needy, he clothed the naked, he fed the hungry, brought consolation to the sorrowful, visited the sick, and all, without exception of persons, were comforted by him."¹

Such a life could not continue without bearing fruit, and in time his good influence spread, not only among his own persecuted flock, but even to the heretic and idolatrous invaders whom he sought to win over to Christ. By his miracles, learning, and charity, he drew the eyes of his new rulers upon him, and these Lombards, when once settled in Italy, instead of continuing their war against religion, now embraced the faith, and became even more fervent Christians than the Italians themselves. Thus it happened that before the death of Frediano the city of Lucca could show many Christians among the Lombards living there, and even many who had laboured with the Bishop in the erection of new churches. For many years after the Lombard invasion S. Frediano specially exercised himself in the office of the administration of baptism, first in the church of S. Giov. Battista and then in his own new church. After the death of the bishop, the Lombard princes devoted themselves to honouring his memory, publishing his good deeds, and adding to the magnificence of the church in which his body lay buried. In fact, the present building was designed and erected by these Lombards, who changed the original dedication, and called it by his name San Frediano. P. Poggi, the historian of Lucca, states that the city of Lucca was so beloved by this people that they called her Flavia, that is, capital of a duchy, and she remained for centuries capital of one of the thirty dukedoms formed by

¹ Codice C, Archives of Lucca.

the Lombards after the death of Alboin and Cleph, which duchies were afterwards resolved into the Italian kingdom of Lombardy.

S. FREDIANO MIRACULOUSLY TURNS THE COURSE OF THE RIVER SERCHIO.

Among the wonders worked by S. Frediano at this time was the miraculous turning aside of the course of the river Serchio, and it will be well to point out the original course of the river, and then show the new direction into which its current was changed. The Serchio rises in the Apennines, and its waters are swelled by tributary streams, which it receives as it flows southwards. One of the most formidable of these torrents at certain seasons is the Lima, which, issuing from a hollow in the mountains, where it has been confined for thirty-four miles of its course, reaches Saltocchio, a district four miles distant from Lucca, and flows in a wider bed across the plain. One of the many branches of this river passes through the lands of Lammari and Cappanori, and descends into the lake of Sesto, now commonly called Bientina. The second branch passes through Marlia, S. Pietro a Vico, Picciorane, and Lunata, and entering Antraccoli, passes round it, forming two minor branches, which re-unite at the church of St. Paul, then passing by Carraia and Parrezzana reaches the slopes of the hills of Compito, and falls into the lake of Sesto. The third branch passes near S. Pietro a Vico, and continues its course by the eastern side of Lucca, falling into the Ozzori (*i.e.* Serchio, called in Latin Auxer), till it joins the Arno close to Ripafretta. The Serchio, flowing in a full tide during such great inundations, leaves traces of its course upon the banks, and the immense width of the beds of both these rivers proves that the waters occasionally occupy a space three or four times greater than their usual size. Having described the line of the Serchio before the course of the river was changed by S. Frediano, we now pass on to consider the new direction given to it. The line of our river was diverted from its mouth in Lake Sesto, and the saint caused it to flow from the bridge Ponte a Moriano, and guided it along the hills of Castel del Moriano, Spardaco, Monte S. Quirico, then directed it to

Ponte S. Pietro, now called Porsanpieri. Here he turned it and led it by Nozzana and Ripafratta, guiding it through various windings on to the sea.

It happened that after a certain period of continuous rains and floods the waters of the Serchio had torn up their banks and spread over half the plain. The peasantry, who during the frequent inundations of this river beheld the fields and furrows they had sown all going to waste, and their labour rendered worthless, were now plunged in the deepest affliction. Beginning at one point of the inundation, they tried, but in vain, to lead the waters back to their original course, the angry torrent bursting through every barrier erected. The distress was universal, both among the citizens, the gates of whose town were destroyed, and the peasantry, who could not put a stop to the ruin of their crops.

It was but natural that certain holy and religious men among them should appeal to their pastor Frediano, being well assured of his power with the Almighty. The saint was moved to compassion by the suffering of his people, and saw that aid could never come except from the hand of God himself; that all human effort must be insufficient to stem the fury of these waters. And he offered a fervent prayer for such a revelation of divine power as would enable him to free the country from this flood, trusting also that by means of a miracle his flock might be strengthened in their faith.

The bishop then passed out from the city followed by the clergy and the people, and came to that point in the landscape where the Serchio, divided into two branches as described above, began to inundate the plain. He stood upon the devastated banks of the river, and, taking a small rake in his hand, having prayed fervently, straightway commanded the waters that they should follow him, as he traced out with his rake a new bed for the river. Then the waters obeyed his voice, leaving their ancient course, and taking the new path he marked out for them towards the sea. This great miracle has been described by St. Gregory I. in the third book of his "Dialogues," cap. ix. : "Nor shall I be silent on this also which has been related to me by the venerable Venanzio, Bishop of Luni. I heard two days ago, for he told me, that at Lucca, a city not far distant from his own, there had

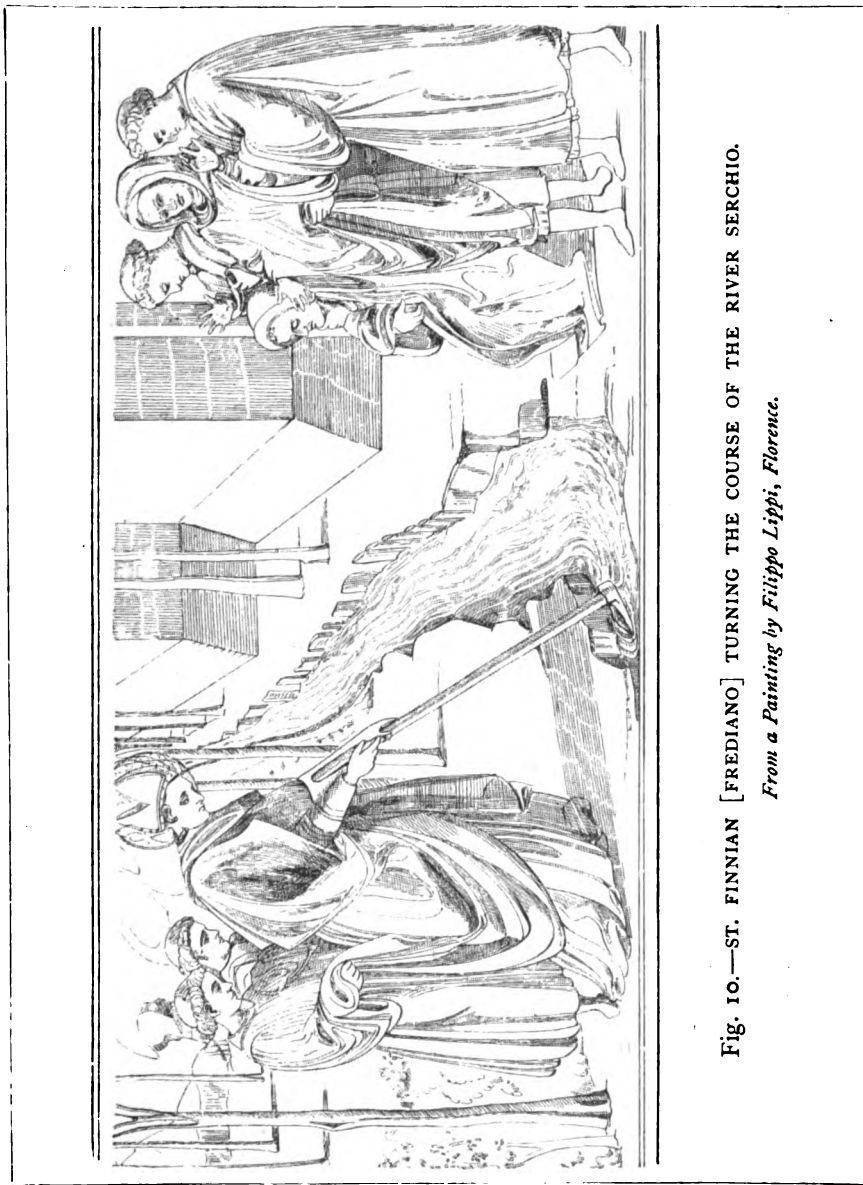


Fig. 10.—ST. FINNIAN [FREDIANO] TURNING THE COURSE OF THE RIVER SERCHIO.
From a Painting by Filippo Lippi, Florence.

lived a bishop of marvellous power, by name Frediano, of whom the inhabitants relate this great miracle. That the river Auxer (Serchio) running close under the walls of the city, and often bursting from its bed with great force, did the greatest damage to its inhabitants, so that they, moved by necessity, strove with all diligence to divert its course into another channel, but failed in the attempt. Then a man of God, Frediano, made them give him a little rake, and, advancing to where the stream flowed, he knelt in prayer. He afterwards raised himself to his feet, and commanded the river that it should follow him, and, dragging the rake behind him, the waters, leaving their accustomed course, ran after it, making a new bed wherever the saint marked the way. Whence thus, ever following on, it ceased to cause damage in the fields and among the fruits raised by the husbandmen."

This remarkable passage must have been written not very long after the event occurred which gave rise to the legend. S. Frediano is spoken of as dead: "there *had* lived a bishop of marvellous power," and he died in the year 588, while the "Dialogues" of Gregory were in existence between 590 and 604, for it was during the pontificate of Gregory that this pontiff sent his "Dialogues" as a gift to Queen Theodelinda, of whom we shall hear more in the life of Columban. This book of "Dialogues" is one that greatly fascinated the imagination of the middle ages; in it are related anecdotes of the lives and miracles of various holy persons in Italy who were of repute at the time, or were either known to Gregory or to persons with whom he was acquainted. They contain legends of great value, both because they are mixed up with real events and on account of their allusions to places and monuments then existing. In this case the real event giving rise to the legend was probably the construction of a canal, and it is remarkable that during our saint's sojourn at Moville in Ireland a similar feat was achieved by him, when a subterranean conduit for water to the mill of his monastery was opened from the neighbouring hills.¹ Another curious parallel to this is the legend in Ayrshire that this saint turned the course of the river Garnoch (see fig. 10).

After the accomplishment of this miracle of the Serchio, our

¹ See p. 28, *supra*.

saint met with the usual experience of those who venture on great achievements. Although many applauded the deed, and many demonstrations of gratitude were made for all the benefits that accrued therefrom to the plain of Lucca, yet others were found who only blamed the bishop, and lamented the new course into which the river had been turned. S. Frediano, seeking repose until this excitement had subsided, retired to the hermitage he had founded at Lunata, on the site of which a church was built in after years dedicated to St. John the Baptist, but now called San Frediano in Lunata. In a short time, however, the disaffected began to perceive the great benefit it was to the inhabitants of Lucca to be freed from the inundations of the river, and the Lombard settlers especially were impressed by this feat, so that the saint easily won their affections, and many among them, whether pagans or Arians, were led away from their superstitions and errors, and consented to be baptized into the religion of Christ.

It is stated in the "Octavarium" (a lectionary) of Lucca, that during the twenty-eight years of his episcopate S. Frediano had founded twenty-eight churches for baptism, called *Pievi*, by which is meant baptismal churches. These churches built by S. Frediano appear to have all been erected after the conversion of the Lombards, and at a period subsequent to the death of their king Cleph. This king, who was one of the noblest of the Lombard chieftains, was crowned by the free suffrage of his people in the year 573. He was the successor of Alboin and held his court in Pavia, but he too was assassinated, and that only eighteen months after his coronation. His son Antharis being still a child, the throne was vacant for ten years. Thirty chiefs divided the cities among themselves, and the country was oppressed by the anarchy and confusion naturally involved in such an arrangement. By this time Frediano, in the diocese of Lucca, had been enabled to combat successfully with the vices of his people and their formidable conquerors. Having gained the latter over to the true faith, he succeeded in keeping that faith alive and spreading public worship by means of the twenty-eight baptismal churches (*pievi*) whose names are given in the following list, and which were either built or restored by S. Frediano.

The three following are in the city of Lucca :

I. The parish church of the Three Levites, now the Basilica of S. Frediano, in which the body of this bishop is venerated. This church was dedicated by S. Frediano himself to the three holy deacons, St. Stephen, St. Vincent, and St. Laurence.

II. The church of St. John the Baptist, the ancient *Pieve* of the city.

III. The church of St. Martin, now the metropolitan church of the diocese of Lucca.

The churches erected outside the city walls are as follow :

IV. The church of Lunata, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, now called S. Frediano of Lunata.

V. The church of Lammari, now dedicated to St. James the Apostle and to St. Christopher.

VI. The church of Segromigno, now dedicated to St. Laurence.

VII. The church of Villa Basilica, dedicated to S. Maria Assunta.

VIII. The church of S. Gennaro.

IX. The church of Compito.

X. The church of St. John the Baptist of Camaioere.

XI. The church of Diecimo, dedicated to S. Maria Assunta.

XII. The church of Gallicano, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

XIII. The church of Controne, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

XIV. The church of Sesto, at Moriano, now dedicated to S. Maria Assunta.

XV. The church of Monsagrati, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

XVI. The church of Brancoli, dedicated to St. George.

XVII. The church of Ilice, dedicated to S. Pantaleone.

XVIII. The church of Arliano, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

XIX. The church of S. Maria Assunta, now cathedral of the town of Pescia, and head of the province of Val di Nievole.

XX. The church of S. Ginese di Vico-Vallari, once head of the province of Valdarno, under the diocese of Lucca, and now united to the cathedral of S. Miniato al Tedesco.

XXI. The church of Valle Arriana, formerly dedicated to St.

John the Baptist, then to St. Thomas the Apostle and S. Ansano, now in the diocese of Pescia.

XXII. The church of S. Pietro in Campo, now united to the church of St. Andrew.

XXIII. The church of Massa Buggianese.

XXIV. The church of Monte Catino di Val di Nievole.

XXV. The church of Santa Maria in Monte, formerly in the diocese of Lucca, now in that of S. Miniato.

XXVI. The church of St. John the Baptist of Fosciana, formerly head of all the churches of Lucca in the province of Garfagnana.

XXVII. The church of S. Giovanni of Loppia, now united to the parish and provostship of Barga.

XXVIII. The church of St. John the Baptist of Val di Castello and Capazzano, afterwards called the church of Santa Felicità in Versilia, now Pietra Santa.

The active zeal of S. Frediano in thus promoting the interests of religion by the restoration of these ancient churches, as well as by the erection of new ones, is recorded in the "Passionarium" of the eleventh century, in which we read the following words: "Vetustas etiam Ecclesias et renovavit, et a fundamentis multas construxit."

MIRACLES OF S. FREDIANO WHEN BUILDING HIS CHURCHES.

When S. Frediano was building the church now dedicated to his name at Lucca, his labourers were at work quarrying stones for his purpose at a place near the suburbs called S. Lorenzo a Vaccoli, now known as Quarto. During the excavations a stone of enormous size was discovered, and when the attempt was made to secure it for the new building, it was found to be too heavy to move. S. Frediano was informed of this. He at once ordered that a number of workmen should be procured to transport it to its intended place, but their united efforts to lift it proved in vain, and they resolved to abandon the task. Then the saint, attended by his canons, went forth himself into the quarry, and, offering up a fervent prayer to God, he raised the stone with perfect ease upon a cart. After this feat he ordered two wild cows to be yoked together to the cart, and they patiently drew it with its vast burthen to the church.

Now it happened that a certain man named Rabiola tried to spring upon the cart which was to transport the stone from the quarry to the church of S. Frediano. This man, missing his footing, fell to the ground and was trampled by the crowd assembled round, as well as crushed by the cart, till he lay half dead. The people turned to S. Frediano imploring for the restoration of the injured man, and the saint, when he had made fervent prayer, passed his hands over him, when, to the great wonder of all, the man was cured.

Miraculous cures were also said to have been wrought upon two strangers while the church of S. Frediano was in course of erection. One day the holy bishop, not having enough money by him to pay the labourers their hire, wished to borrow a hundred silver soldi from a rich man of the country ; but he, being avaricious, absolutely refused to grant this favour, even swearing that he did not possess such a sum. The saint bore his refusal quietly, and the rich man returned on his homeward way. But it so befell, that as he was crossing the Serchio in a little boat, his purse containing the hundred soldi dropped into the water, and without his perceiving it was swallowed up by a great fish.

That same night certain fishermen known to S. Frediano brought him as a gift the largest fish that they had ever caught. No sooner had his servant set his hand on it to cook it, and cut it open to clean it, than he discovered the purse with the hundred soldi. On learning this, S. Frediano sent immediately for the rich man, who was already plunged in grief for the loss of his purse, and sorry that he had not lent the money to the saint. When the avaricious man came into the presence of S. Frediano, the saint said to him, "Take thy purse with thy money found in the belly of the fish." Then the rich man prostrated himself at his feet. "O man of God," he cried, "this money is not mine, but yours." But the saint answered, "I have no desire to benefit myself by your loss." Then the man begged of him to accept half at least for the erection of the church. "No," replied the saint, "I take it not, either in part or as a whole, since thou hast falsely sworn that thou hadst no money in thy possession. Learn to know that it is God who giveth wealth, and God who taketh it away, and all according to His will. God holds all things in

His own hand, and He is master of all. Remember how detestable a vice is avarice, and that the Holy Spirit has said there is no more wicked man than he who is avaricious." Then the rich man, confused and humbled, went forth from the presence of the holy bishop.

FREDIANO FOUNDS A CONVENT OF CANONS REGULAR.

If ever a bishop ruled his clergy with a strong arm, and insisted on the fulfilment of all the duties of the ministry, it was S. Frediano. He set himself to imitate the most perfect patterns, such as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, men who excelled all others both in learning and church discipline, uniting the cœnobitic with the apostolic life, and showing forth the virtues of both as they had never before been illustrated.

S. Frediano, having loved the solitary life in his youth, preserved his affection for it even after he had become bishop, nor could he ever forget the wise rule of silence, of prayer, of mortification, and all the other exercises which have formed, and ever will form, the soul of the religious life. He was impelled to retire from time to time to some hermitage, that his heart and mind, undisturbed, might be refreshed by a holy spiritual life, and that he might gain a breathing space amid the duties of his arduous ministry. In order that he might have some such retreat near at hand, he chose a number of learned and pious priests from among his clergy, some of whom were monks who through accident of fire or flood had been driven out of their ancient monasteries and scattered abroad. Such men as these he formed into a religious family of which he was himself superior. He imposed upon them the rules of the Lateran Canons of Rome, and with these clerics Frediano had his meals in common, his lodging, exercises of devotion, and psalm singing, rising with them night and morning for mental prayer, and also officiating at the celebration of holy mass. From them also he had assistance in teaching the divine word, as well as in the administration of the sacraments, and he sent some members of this community out on visits of inspection through the different parishes of his diocese as circumstances required.

S. Frediano's energy was unabated in his latter days, and he paid constant visits to the different churches in his diocese. He

often went to the baptismal church of Pescia, moved by the love he felt for its gentle people. After his death a church was erected upon the mountain above Pescia; and dedicated to him, which is still standing, and bears the name of S. Frediano in Molocchio. He also visited San Ginese di Vico-Vallari, the principal church of Lower Valdarno, whose people were held in high esteem by our saint from their affection and submission to his commands. In consequence of the special devotion which he bore to the memory of the martyr S. Miniato, he often visited his church, which was situated on a hill over the left bank of the Arno, and is now called S. Miniato al Monte. The following miracle was wrought by our saint on one of his journeys to this place.

When the holy man arrived at the right bank of the Arno, he found he could not pass to the other side because of the dangerous state of the river, which was then flooded. Observing some boatmen on the opposite side, he hailed them, begging them to come over and bear him across in their boats. They fearing, it may be, the fury of the river thus swollen, said they could not expose themselves to certain danger of drowning. The saint urged them to put their faith in God, and they began their passage; but, at the moment of starting, they suddenly found themselves transported to the opposite side. Then, with minds quite stupefied by this miracle, they forthwith took the holy bishop into their boat and bore him safely to the spot where he desired to land.

The end of S. Frediano's life was now fast approaching, and the hour was arriving when he was to leave this world, but not without the record of a life rich in virtue and fulness of merit. Constrained henceforth to lie on his poor bed, he seemed to be rather exhausted by the divine fire that consumed him than by the power of any positive malady; as his last hour approached, he begged that the holy sacrament might be administered to him. He commenced an address to the sorrowing monks who surrounded his bed on the love of God, the perfection of obedience, peace, purity, and the observation of his rule, but his strength failed ere he had concluded. Then, fixing his mind upon God in the most fervent prayer, while his canons around him sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving, he seemed to fall

into a placid sleep, and thus his soul expired in his Saviour's arms, and he passed to the glory of heaven.¹

This saint is commemorated in the "Martyrology of Donegal" at Sept. 10: Finnén, Bishop of Magh-bile. He is of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin, from whom the Dal-Fiatach descend, and who was of the seed of Heremon. Also in the "Martyrology of Oengus," as already quoted, p. 25, *supra*.

Italian historians, especially Poggi, Mansi, and Fiorentini, agree in assigning the death of S. Frediano to the twenty-eighth year of his episcopate, A.D. 588, on March 30th. This was in the seventh year of the empire of Maurice, and the eleventh of the pontificate of Pelagius II.²

In the short space of two years his body was already esteemed as that of a saint. It is said to have been buried in a sarcophagus and laid beneath the pavement of the church formerly called that of the Three Deacons, but after his interment named S. Frediano. A parchment exists of the time of King Cunipert, dated the year 680, in which express record is made of the monastery of S. Frediano in the city of Lucca.³

¹ Octavarium (Lectionary) of the saint's festival day.

² See Platina, p. 135.

³ Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Archives, Lucca, and registered o.27. See Bertini, *Documens* xxxii., xxxiii., vol. iv.

LETTERS FROM ITALY,
BEING NOTES ON A JOURNEY IN SEARCH OF THE EXISTING
MEMORIALS OF IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY.

PISA,
Nov., 1889.

DEAR H.,

YOU listened so patiently some time ago, when I read you the story of the life of St. Finnian of Moville, who is known here as S. Frediano, that I hope you will feel some interest in hearing of my pilgrimage to his shrine in Italy.

Next best to having you at my side will be to feel that the story of my adventures may interest you, and that you may share some of the delight I have had in all the beauty that surrounds me here. To-day I have to tell you of my first explorations in Monte Pisano, the great scene of the hermit life in this part of Italy, and the place to which our saint retired on his second arrival in this country. I shall certainly advise everyone who wants to know Italy indeed, to take these old Irish saints as their guide. In following the footsteps of Frediano, I have completely got out of the range of Murray and Baedeker and Hare, and what lonely mountains and wide fertile plains have I not seen!

Monte Pisano is that mountain that rises north and east of Pisa, which Dante speaks of in the thirty-third canto of the first part of his "Divine Comedy" as "al monte perche i Pisan

veder Lucca non ponno." A passage evidently referred to by Shelley in his poem on the "Boat on the Serchio":—

"It was that hill whose intervening brow
Screens Lucca from the Pisan's envious eye."

And yesterday morning I started at an early hour to explore its solitudes and see what traces I could find of its ancient hermitages. I drove from the Porta Lucchese along the plain to the Bagni di San Giuliano, a little bright-looking town at the foot of the mountain, where Shelley spent the spring of 1820, and where he boated on the canal that communicates between the river Serchio and the Arno, which lay at the foot of his garden. Set down in the sunny piazza, it was some time before I found a man to be my guide; at last, a tall old fellow turned up who willingly carried my photographic apparatus, or "machina," as they call it here, and my lunch-basket.

We commenced our ascent by a wild road, along a stream through an olive-wood, broken here and there by a row of cypress trees, but this wood did not extend very high, and when we came out on the mountain side our path lay over ground as barren and wild as anything in Ireland, but without our heath and ferns and golden furze. However, turning round at an angle in the road, and sitting down on a low wall to rest, I looked back upon the steep path that we had come, and beheld at our feet such a view as Italy alone can show. A richly cultivated plain extending to the sea, the road to Pisa running through it from the foot of the mountain, clearly marked by the oak trees that lined it on either side, whose autumn-tinted leaves made it seem like a golden thread winding through the fields; the group of buildings, the leaning tower, and baptistery that make Pisa famous, rose above the city. Leghorn lay beyond, with its towers and harbour and ships. Far on the horizon was Caprera, Garibaldi's island, rising from the Mediterranean in a

sunny mist (about as visible as the Mourne mountains are from Howth), and the Arno winding along from Pisa, through the fields and dark Pineta, to its mouth in the sea. Then to the west all the—

“circumfluous plain waving below,
Like a wide lake of green fertility,
With streams, and fields, and marshes bare,
Divides from the far Apennines, which lie
Islanded in the immeasurable air.”

Looking down on the other side of the mountain ridge, the whole plain of Lucca lay at our feet, not now the wide solitude that met the gaze of the old hermits, but a vast extent of smiling fields speckled with bright homesteads shining white in the Italian sun. To the east were the dark gorges and peaks of the Eremitic mountains, and on the opposite side of the valley below us, nestling high in a nook on Monte San Pantaleone, I saw the site of the hermitage of S. Antonino. I cannot describe the interest with which I gazed at the little white building which now stands on the site of this last sanctuary, behind its single cypress-tree, like a speck on the distant mountain. But perhaps you will ask who these good old saints were who thus retired to these lonely mountains. Well, S. Antonino, the founder of this hermitage, was a priest of Lucca in the first century of the Christian era, and pupil of S. Paolino, who brought Christianity into Tuscany, and who died a martyr in the persecutions under Nero. His bones, with those of other martyrs, were found in a subterranean crypt in the church of S. Antonino now dedicated to S. Pantaleone.

The guide called the ridge of the mountain on which I stood Monte Bianco di San Giuliano, and when I explained to him that I did not care to see the churches now in use, which were built at a later date on the sites of the old hermitages, but that I was in search of the old places themselves, such as the

Spelonca, *i.e.* the Cavern, or Rupe Cavo, *i.e.* the Rock Cave, he told me to my distress that I must go on quite another road, and should have to wait another day, as the places I named lay at some distance along the mountains about five miles north of the baths of San Giuliano. So this first day's expedition was without result as far as archæology was concerned, but I took two photographs of the landscape to remind me of the scene, the great outlines of which, the mountain shadows, and the dark valleys, and even it may be the olive-woods, must have been much the same as they are now when the early Christians retired here to labour and to pray.

On the next day, following my guide's advice, I resolved to make my way to the place which still preserves the name of Rupe Cavo, guessing from the name itself that I should be more likely to find the hermit caves I was in search of at a place so styled than at Santa Maria dei Giudici, or Passerino, or any of the churches he had shown me at a distance the day before. This time I started by the train, leaving Pisa for Lucca at twelve o'clock; and stopping at the station of Ripafratta, I commenced my explorations from that point. On the platform I asked one of the porters if he knew of any boy who would hire himself as my guide and carry my "machina." He offered his own son, and led me through a back street of one of the most curious old Italian towns that I have yet seen, to his humble little house. There he told his good wife my need, and she called out a beautiful boy, whose face lit up in a wonderful manner when I told him that I wanted to see and photograph the Rupe Cavo. It appears that the climb to this place is a favourite expedition for the boys of Ripafratta. But first I must tell you about this little town itself. It was an important place in the middle ages as the frontier town between Pisa and Lucca, and many a hard struggle between these rival cities was decided in this valley. The gateway, ancient walls, and fine mediæval castle crowning

the precipitous rock under shelter of which the little town is built, and the striking ancient square towers which appear on the summits of the hills around, show how universally the old nobles of the district felt the necessity of fortifying themselves in their strongholds. The lords of Ripafratta were the Roncioni, descendants of Manfredo; and P. Gianelli, in his memoirs of Lucca, gives a series of names of illustrious members of this family. Manfredo di Roncione obtained a grant of lands in the year 996, and again in 1000, from the Emperor Otto III. Henceforward, these lords Roncione possessed the patronage of all the places and inhabitants around Ripafratta, including Cerasomma and the parochial church and Rupe Cavo, sometimes called Lupo Cavo.

The name of Cerasomma, a spot on the confines of the Lucchesian duchy, is derived from Cella Somma. Cella di Rupe Cavo is a deserted hermitage which, with the church of Santa Maria annexed to it, is in the parish of Ripafratta in the *piviere*¹ of Montuolo, diocese of Lucca. This cave is situated on the highest spur of Monte Pisano, between Ripafratta and Cerasomma, near the cell of Prete Rustico. The church of Santa Maria close by was consecrated in the thirteenth century, as appears from an instrument of Sept. 12th, A.D. 1214, granting from the lords of Ripafratta a piece of land on which the church might be erected near the cave of Lupo Cavo. In the year 1243, this hermitage was still occupied by five Augustinian eremites, presided over by a priest, as is proved by a *lodo* or laudation pronounced in Pisa at this time, approving the nobles of Ripafratta for giving them the choice and election of a new prior in the hermitage of Lupo Cavo.

Thus we see the history of this hermitage can be traced from a very early date, and that it is known to have continued in use

¹ *Piviere*, the precinct or jurisdiction of a parish.

and to have been occupied by Augustinian hermits, at all events down to the middle of the thirteenth century. There is no doubt about the order to which these anchorites belonged, and how greatly is the interest of the place increased by the fact that many authorities have maintained that St. Augustine himself led a hermit life for some time upon this very mountain. The historian Fanucchi quotes Petrarch, G. Marques, Fiorentini, and the great S. Antonino, Archbishop of Florence in the fourteenth century, in support of this statement. I wrote to our friend, Dr. Gwynn, asking him if he knew the passage from the last-mentioned writer, and I received the following answer:—

“S. Antoninus of Florence is a well-known personage, and a good authority. In his great work, usually called ‘Chronica,’ but originally published with the title ‘Hystorialis,’ there are some concluding chapters on various subjects out of their chronological order, and in folio cclv., § ii., occur the words you quote from your author. I transcribe them exactly: ‘Et cum esset in itinere revertens ad Africam, visitavit Eremitas qui erant in Monte Pisano, aliquibus diebus cum eis moram trahens, et alios Eremitas qui erant in Centumcellis prope Romam.’

“And when he (Augustine) was on his journey returning to Africa, he visited the hermits who were in Monte Pisano, and tarried awhile with them; and also visited the other hermits who were in Centum Cellæ,¹ the hundred cells near Rome.”

Monsignor Fanucchi goes on to say that the historian Possideus goes even farther, for he states that the holy father Augustine not only stopped in Italy, leading the hermit life at intervals, but that here upon our own mountains, inhabited by the said hermits, he learned the monastic system, and from these places he introduced it into Africa, and then developed it there.

These facts, as you may imagine, added immensely to the

¹ *i.e.* Civita Vecchia.



Fig. 11.—ASCENT TO HERMITAGE OF RUPE CAVO.

interest with which I approached the Rock Cave, I was still haunted by the fear that we should find nothing more than a commonplace little country church, such as I had seen the day before, built on a piece of ground held by tradition to have been the site of a hermitage. I followed my boy-guide up a very steep woodland path, and round under the walls of the mediæval castle of Ripafratta. We then entered the vineyards, whose old and moss-grown terraces extend half way up the mountain, and just at the point where the vines stop and the chestnut woods begin, the view looking westward was so lovely that I stopped to photograph it (fig. 11). Below me the narrow valley of the Serchio was seen opening on the Val d'Arno at the foot of the castellated point of Monte Diero. To the right the vast range of the crystalline mountains of Carrara shone with the clear rose tint or creamy white their marble outlines take, whether the sculptor be human or divine.

A climb of an hour or more brought us to the church of the Rock Cave; the priest was away in Lucca, and had taken the key with him; however, to judge by the outside, the church was neither interesting nor old, but when a pretty Italian woman, whom we found standing by the holy well of the hermitage, just raising the antique bronze water-vessel on her head, opened the gate of the church court for us, I saw before my eyes the very hermitage indeed! (fig. 12). A great cave, formed by enormous overhanging rocks, garlanded with every imaginable creeper, was before me. The monks had taken advantage of this rock, using it for their roof, building low walls beneath it, which, running into the depths of the cavern, divided it into sections or chambers. The doors were square-headed, and the windows were most curious in their construction, what the architects call squints; so that from the inside the inhabitant of the cell could see anyone approaching the door from outside without being visible himself. Unfortunately, the darkness was

so great that it was impossible to photograph beneath the roof of the cave. On the upper storey, as it were, of the cliff, there

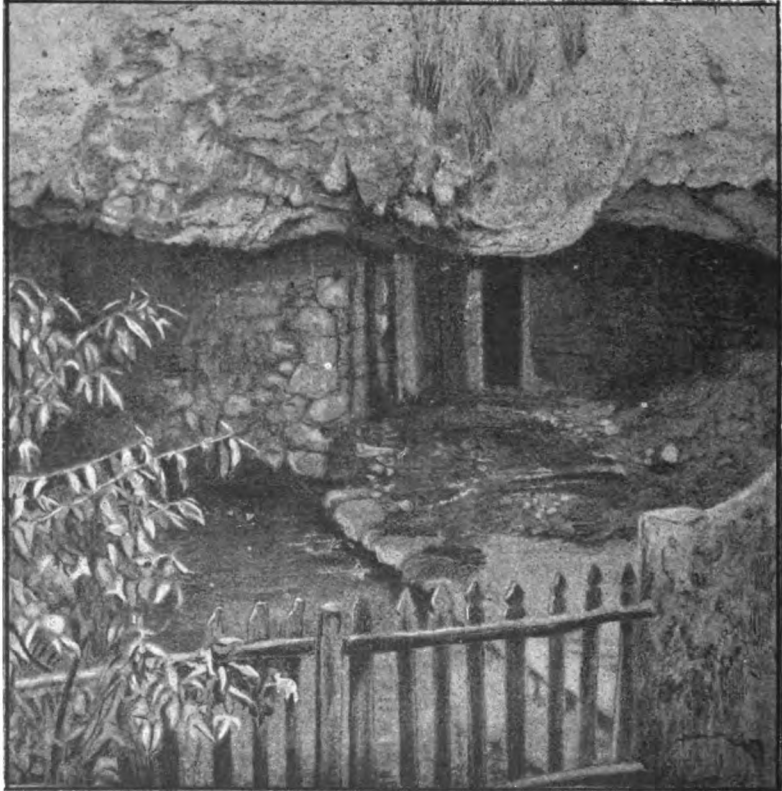


Fig. 12.—HERMITAGE OF RUPE CAVO.

was a second and even grander cave, in the walls of which, about six feet from the ground, were three distinct minor caves or holes, exactly like that of the bed of St. Kevin at Glendalough.

How far these caves penetrated into the rock I could not discover. A shrine to the Madonna was erected in the middle of this upper grotto, at which my pretty peasant knelt. I tried to photograph her kneeling, but she *would* move.

Here then, indeed, was what I had been seeking. A primitive hermitage, a rock cave, an anchorite cell such as I had read of as existing in Syria and Egypt, such as I had seen in Ireland, but never before seen on the continent. The magnificent view from the little terrace in front of the church must have been that visible from the entrance to these caverns at the time when our Irish saint lived there, and before the view was intercepted by that building (fig. 13). More visible from the great height where I now stood than they had been from below, the multitudinous ranges of the Carrara mountains rose peak above peak, their semi-translucent, clear-cut marble fissures striking into the soft blue depths of heaven, always seeming to suggest a city of shadowy palaces hewn by immortal hands; next came the forest-clad mountains, among which the eye longed to linger as it passed downwards, till it rested by the full-flowing, silver flood of the river Serchio, threading its serpentine way through the valley till it disappears in the narrow chasm that separates it from the plain of Pisa. As I gazed, a longing filled me to walk along the gravelly reaches of the river, shining golden in the evening sun, and so I and my boy-guides, for my first lad had found companions among the chestnut gatherers on the way, commenced our descent, through oak and chestnut woods and vineyards, and past the old castles and down the beds of streams, till I parted with them in the town. Then leaving the camera at the station, as I had yet two hours to wait for the evening train from Lucca to Pisa, I set out to wander alone in the twilight; the stars were coming out in the deep, cloudless sky, and the crescent moon hung like a silver bow, while the only sound was the occasional stroke of the ferryman who ferried

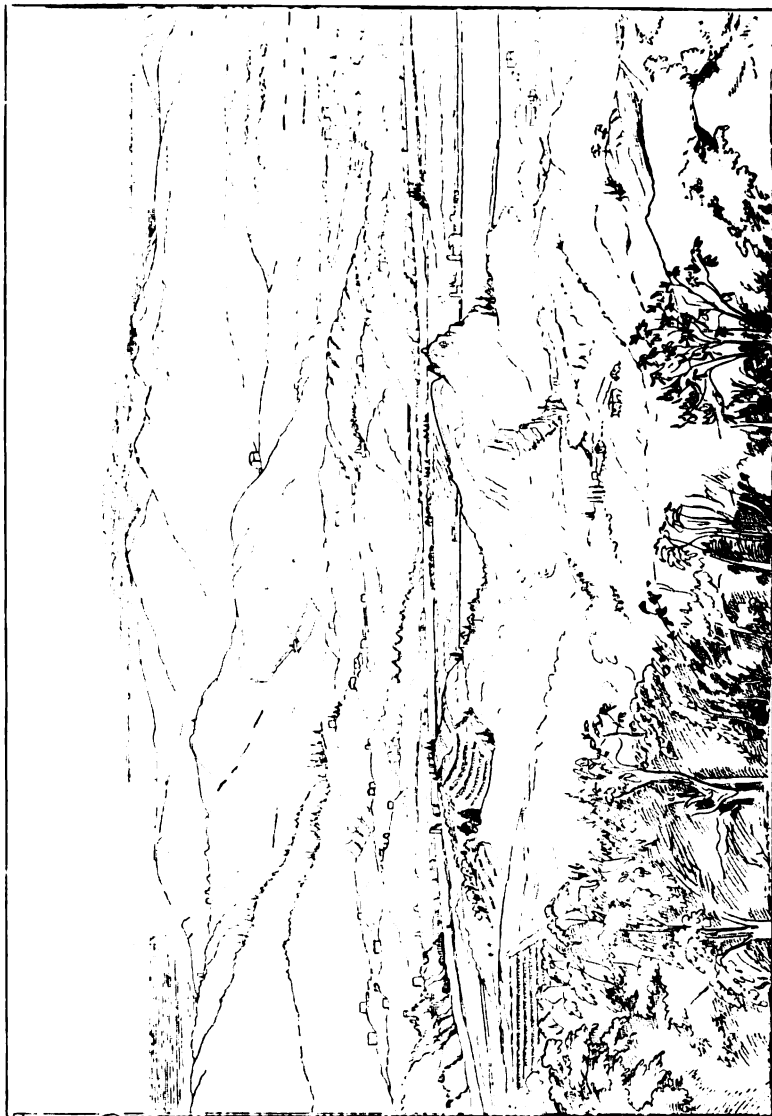


Fig. 13.—VIEW FROM HERMITAGE OF RUPE CAYO.

home the stray chestnut gatherers with their sacks of chestnuts, who had lingered too long far in among the wooded hills on the opposite side of the river. Of course I thought of Shelley in his "Boat on the Serchio":—

"The stars burnt out in the pale blue air,
And the thin white moon lay withering there ;
To tower and cavern and rift and tree
The owl and the bat fled drowsily."

"The Serchio, twisting forth
Between the marble barriers which it clove
At Ripafratta, leads through the dread chasm
The wave that died the death which lovers love,
Living in what it sought. As if this spasm
Had not yet passed, the toppling mountains cling.
But the clear stream in full enthusiasm
Pours itself on the plain ; then, wandering
Down one clear path of effluence crystalline,
Sends its superfluous waves that they may fling
At Arno's feet tribute of corn and wine."

But you will say, "This is all irrelevant ; what has it to do with Irish hermits and their memories?" Only this, that Shelley has described the scene with such absolute truth, that you can hardly help feeling him at your side as you gaze upon it. You must remember, also, that it was just this very country that inspired many of his greatest works, his "Skylark," "Prometheus," "Witch of Atlas," and it would be impossible not to associate the country with his memory. There are other poets, also, of whose works I was reminded in this day's experience ; I mean the old Christian poet-painters of Italy. Whoever the artist was of the great fresco of the Fathers of the Desert in the Campo Santo of Pisa, when he chose to fill the fourth compartment assigned to him of the Quatuor Novissima, not with the usual subject, Paradise, but with that mystic scene representing hermits and anchorites, who, though still on earth,

continue to lead the "angelical life" of celibacy, solitude, fasting, and prayer, I think he must have known this scene. That artist, I say, may have preferred this subject because he had seen this life still lived on by the side of the Eremitic mountains rising behind Pisa. The hermitages and caves I have seen within the last two days, if peopled, would afford a painter many subjects very similar to those in this great composition. In his vast mountain landscape we have groups of individual hermits scattered throughout, either sitting within their cells or outside in front of them, or others reading, meditating, weaving baskets, fishing, felling trees, or attendant on the aged. The painter did not need to travel through the Thebaid or to the banks of the Nile for his inspiration, but might have found it in its spiritual reality nearer home, on his own mountain sides, visible from the solemn enclosure of the Campo Santo. Again, the Rupe Cavo above Ripafratta is just such a grotto as Mantegna, in his exquisite picture of the Nativity in the Gallery of the Uffizi in Florence, has painted the Virgin Mother seated in, though the painter has added the soft glory of angels peopling the dark roof.

To all and to each one of these, whether Augustine or the Irish hermit, or the sacred painter of the fourteenth or the poet of the nineteenth century, one influence was at hand to help and elevate. Nature was there, like an inspiring presence deep hidden in the pure marble of the mountain side, but breathing her sweet influences round in gentle airs and distant sounds of running streams and whispering trees; to all such men the motive power is still the same, the one desire is common, that they, each in his own vocation, might help to raise the human race from sin, to quench the earth-consuming rage for gold and blood, until mankind should move

"Harmonious as the sacred stars above."

Albergo dell' Universo,
Lucca.

DEAR F.,

You will now have to follow me to Lucca, where I have come in search of the memorials of S. Frediano's life after he had entered on the episcopate. No one who visits Lucca and the country round can complain that there is any danger of his name dying out, so numerous are the monuments connected with him. Had it not been for the kindness of Cavaliere Norfini, Director of the Accademia delle Belle Arti, himself a skilled antiquary, as well as that of Baron Acton, who has guided me to most of these monuments, I should never have been able to have made them all out for myself. The first church, San Giovanni e Reparata, in which S. Frediano baptised his converts, stood opposite to the window of my hotel, and after breakfast Cavaliere Norfini took me to explore it. You will remember that this is the oldest foundation in Lucca, and was the church in which Frediano officiated before the erection of the building now called by his name. Like all the churches of Lucca, it is distinctly basilican, and no part of the present building can date as far back as the age of Frediano except the baptistery, which must, indeed, be of great antiquity; it opens out of the left transept, and is a lofty square building. During the repairs and excavations made in the seventeenth century in this church, a portion of the original pavement was discovered at a depth of nine feet below the level of the present building. The great elevation of the present baptistery floor must be owing to the deposits of many centuries, and yet that this lower floor was that of a building intended for Christian purposes cannot be doubted, since a Christian cross of white and black marble was found inlaid in the mosaic pavement. Here then we saw the floor of the original baptistery, in use in the time of Frediano, which was afterwards levelled to the ground by the Lombards.

before the erection of the second building, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, on this same site, by these very Lombards, after their conversion to Christianity.

But it also appears that this baptistery, which, in the time of Frediano, was dedicated to SS. Giovanni and Reparata, was itself raised on the site of a heathen temple and heathen place of interment. Urns and incinerated bones, idols, coins bearing the effigy of the Triumvirate and image of Augustus, and inscribed "Augustus Pater S. C.," were all turned up during the excavations, and many Roman columns, crowned by capitals of an early period, clearly proved that the fragments of this first heathen building were utilised in that designed for Christian service. Freeman, in his "Visit to Lucca," says: "Another church is that of St. John, near that of the Luomo, where a basilica and a baptistery seem to have been rolled into one. The baptistery here is square; yet it reminds one even more forcibly than other baptisteries of the kitchens of Fontevrault and Glastonbury."

From this church we walked to the north side of the town, where you will remember Frediano founded a church, which he dedicated to the three deacons, Stephen, Vincent, and St. Laurence, when his church of St. John was destroyed after the invasion of the Lombards. It was not until after the saint's death that the larger basilica we now see was built on the original foundation, and dedicated anew in honour of S. Frediano himself. A record of this first small building and of the monastery annexed to it, is found in two ancient parchments among the archiepiscopal archives of Lucca, one dated 685, the other 686, where it is stated that the monastery of S. Frediano, being in need of restoration, was rebuilt by Faulone, major-domo of Cunipert, King of the Lombards, and that Faulone, having found that the church also required much restoration, thought it better to rebuild it entirely, and this he did at his

own expense, and with the aid of the two kings, Pertarito, the father, and Cunipert, the son. Faulone appears to have



Fig. 14.—CHURCH OF S. FREDIANO, LUCCA.

suggested to them that the beautiful stones and columns lying useless on the ground might be raised into a magnificent church

F

in honour of God and S. Frediano, and so the two kings, lauded by Mansuetus, Archbishop of Milan A.D. 689, as the most pious and devoted worshippers of religion, who had the sovereign power of disposing of the said marvellous and sumptuous columns, gave orders for the building of this great fabric (fig. 14).

The side chapels were added at a later period, and the side aisles were enlarged, while two wings were added to the façade. These portions of the building must be attributed to Roto, Abbot of S. Frediano A.D. 1112, when the Lombard church was already five centuries old. The two wings of the façade are of a much whiter marble than the older part. It was found necessary to rebuild all the outer wall from the foundations on the south side, the two wings on the east, and the greater part on the north near the monastery, which was also probably enlarged as the community increased in numbers. But to anyone who has any knowledge of architecture, it is clear that the great middle nave, the two side aisles, the façade, excepting the two wings, along with the great campanile, are Lombard work. And Roto did nothing more than restore certain parts of these portions of the building.¹ These new restorations were completed and this basilica was consecrated in the year 1147 by Pope Eugenius III., after which the bones of S. Frediano were taken from the place where they had hitherto lain and laid beneath the high altar.

This church is a most important building in the history of architecture in the time of the Lombards. Freeman says of it : "The great abbey of S. Frediano or Frigidian is remarkable for having been turned round, like St. Agnes at Rome and the metropolitan Church at Besançon. Its front is where its apse was once. The general design of that front is bare and awkward,

¹ Gally Knight, in his work on "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy," vol. i., states that Abbot Roto erected the new front in its present form in the twelfth century, and that he added the mosaic pictures.

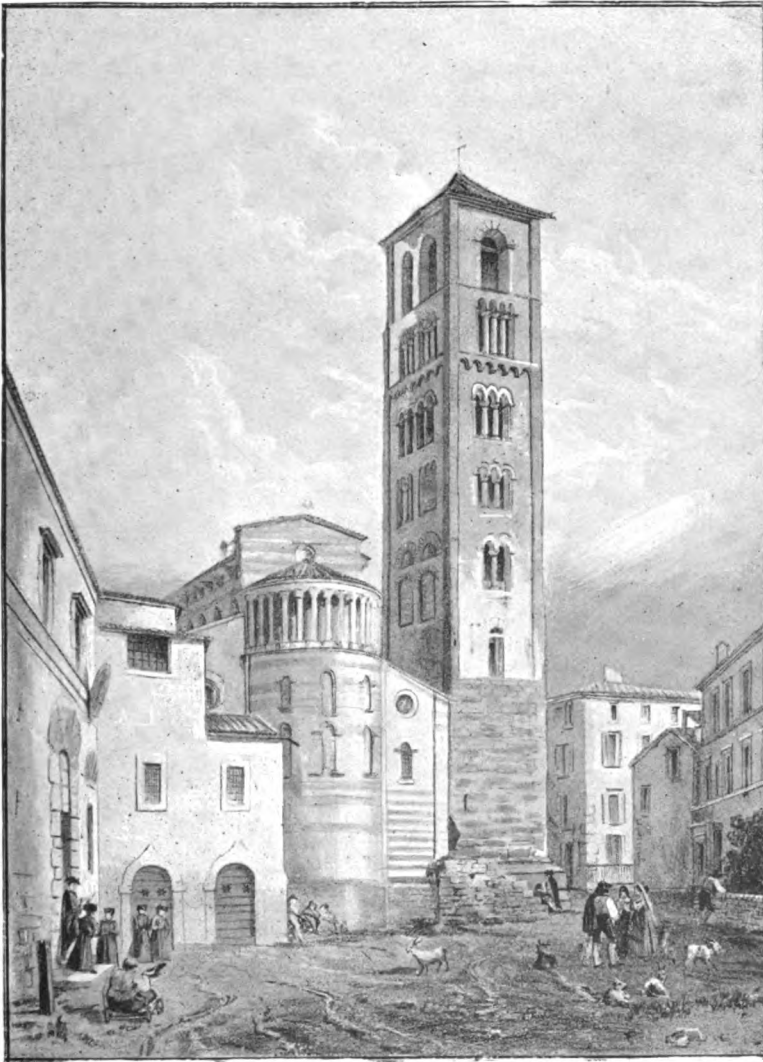


Fig. 15.—EAST END, APSE AND TOWER, SAN FREDIANO, LUCCA.

Gally Knight.

but its central compartment deserves notice. There are neither arcades nor wheel window. Over a small blank colonnade, not an arcade, is a single small window, and above that a magnificent mosaic picture, reminding one of those at St. Mark's, to which the whole design of the front is evidently sacrificed. This

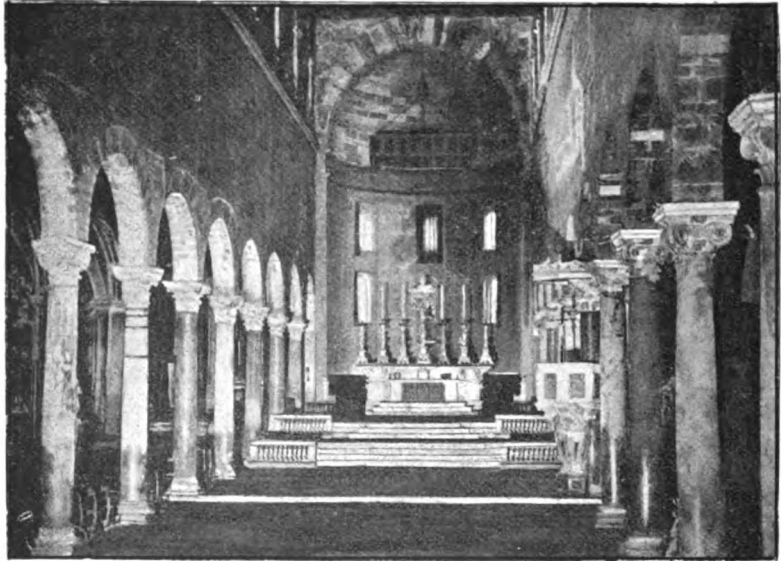


Fig. 16.—SAN FREDIANO, LUCCA.

mosaic represents Jesus Christ in glory, adored by two angels ; below him are ranged the twelve apostles in the act of prayer ; the following inscription runs along the bottom :

“ Alta viri celi
Spectatur cor Galilei
Iste Dei natus
Galilei nube levatus.”

When we entered the building I felt that I had never seen a more striking and strange interior (fig. 16). The basilica has three aisles, with twelve arches, six at each side, rising from eleven columns, all of which, except one, are ancient, and taken from the neighbouring Roman amphitheatre. The building measures inside in length 207 feet, 6 inches; in breadth 72 feet, 4 inches; the side aisles measure 71 feet; the height of the nave is altogether 70 feet. This great height astonishes the most experienced architect, for here a wall of 44 feet in height rests upon isolated columns no more than two feet in diameter, and the wonder is increased when, after the lapse of so many centuries, and shaken as these walls have been on many occasions by earthquakes, they have given no sign of failure. There was some temerity in the courage of the architect who planned this lofty nave.

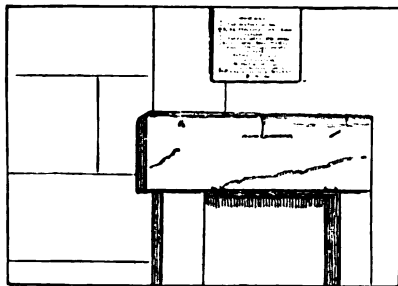


Fig. 17.—PORTION OF TOMB OF
S. FREDIANO.

Although according to the Irish tradition the saint returned to die in his native land, yet the Italian legend of his life tells that the discovery of his bones in Lucca occurred in the reign of Charlemagne. It was stated in ancient parchments that he was buried in this church, but the place of his grave was forgotten in the various vicissitudes of these two centuries of its history. It happened, then, that at the funeral of a certain maiden of Lucca, the floor to the left side of the apse was opened to receive her coffin, and that, when it was lowered into the space prepared, the maiden awoke from death as from a sleep, and cried aloud, "Lift me up, lift me up from hence, since you have laid me

down upon the body of the blessed saint Frediano; a shameful thing it would be that my body, soon to be the food of worms, should lie upon a corpse so holy." Having uttered these words, the maiden sank back again in death. Having laid her body in another part of the church, they returned to examine the grave, when they discovered the remains of the saint in a marble sarcophagus covered by a stone on which his name was inscribed (fig. 18). They removed this tomb to a place of honour in the centre of the church, and placed the following inscription on the stone: "In tumba ista jacuit corpus Beati Fridiani



Fig. 18.—INSCRIPTION ON TOMB OF S. FREDIANO.

quingentis¹ annis sub terra. Dein revelatum per quamdam Puellam ab eodem suis meritis suscitatum."

"In this tomb lay the body of the blessed Fridianus for many years under the earth. Then it was revealed by a certain girl [who was] by the same [and] through his merits brought to life."

The tomb remained in this place until the year 1152, when the new building commenced by Roto was completed, and the remains of the saint were then removed from the original sarcophagus, of which, unfortunately, little care seems to have been taken. Fortunately some valuable drawings of it were made by a British antiquary and painter of the seventeenth century, named Christopher Martin "il Sassone" (the Saxon), on

¹ Literally 500 years.

a visit paid by him to Lucca (fig. 19). The MS. of the journal from which these illustrations are taken is preserved among the MSS. in the library of the Royal Archivio di Stato in Lucca (No. 106).

The sculptures on this monument prove it to have been an instance of the practice of using pagan sarcophagi for the burial of Christians. "Christians," says Mabillon, "not seldom take the tombs of pagans for their own uses" ("Iter Ital.," § 10, p. 81).

This sarcophagus was probably brought from the ruins of the same amphitheatre which supplied the grand series of marble columns and capitals to the church of San Frediano. The subjects on the three compartments all belong to the pagan



BAS-RELIEF.



Fig. 19.—BAS-RELIEF ON TOMB.



BAS-RELIEF.

iconography of death—the altar, the dance of winged genii, the Thanatos who holds in one hand the inverted torch and in the other a mirror. Here we have a fine instance of the mystic mirror which was a not uncommon pagan symbol of death—much used by the Etruscans—and evidently referred to by St. Paul. The initiated, in dying, pass into the presence of the divinity, the flame is extinguished, the mirror of life cast away, says the pagan, and the Christian, developing the heathen faith, adds: "For now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I have been known."¹ The genius of death on our sarcophagus turns away his gaze from the mirror. See Appendix I.

¹ Inghirami, "Specchi mistici," "Mon. Etrusc.," ii., p. 762.

Nothing now remains of this fine sarcophagus but the stone with the inscription recording the discovery of S. Frediano's remains, which, after being tossed about from one place to another, was finally used as a step in the stairs outside the basilica, where it was recognised by the then prior in the year 1840, who had it brought into the church and fixed into the inner wall.

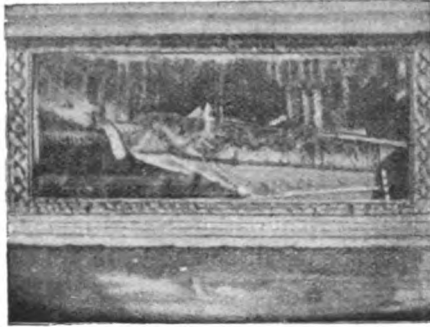


Fig. 20.—EMBALMED BODY OF S. FREDIANO.

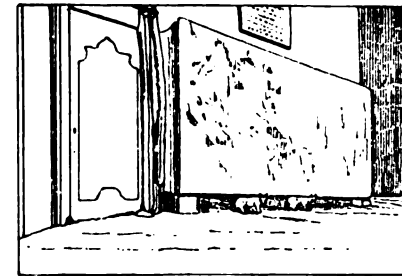


Fig. 21.—STONE OF S. FREDIANO.

The bones of S. Frediano, which were taken from out this tomb in 1152, were exposed with great honour, and carried in solemn procession through the streets of Lucca; then laid in a glass coffin, in which they remained undisturbed, but in disorder, until 1666, when a celebrated anatomist, Girolamo da Cremona, restored the skeleton. Placed in a new sarcophagus of glass, it was fixed beneath the high altar, where by the kind permission of the Archbishop of Lucca I made the accompanying photograph of it (see fig. 20).

I saw also here the great stone said to have been miraculously transported into the town by two cows (fig. 21) from Il Quarto near the church of San Lorenzo di Vaccoli. This slab, when consecrated by S. Frediano, was used for many centuries

as the table of the old sacristy on which the priestly vestments were laid out. On the building of the new sacristy it was removed, and is now placed in the wall beside the tomb of S. Frediano (p. 69). It measures 17 feet in length, 6 feet in breadth, and is 1 foot 2 inches thick. When the Lateran Canons officiated in the church of S. Frediano, the following inscription was placed above it :—

“D. O. M.

Oh, whoever thou art who readeest this,
Thou art a stone unless this stone moveth thee
To admiration and veneration for D. Frigidianus,

Who,

In the construction of this Temple,
Having obtained this block in the mountain
At the fourth milestone,

In strength unequal yet fervent in spirit,
With his own and his canons' hands and shoulders
With wonderful ease placed it on a cart drawn by
two wild cows.

In the sixth century of salvation
He set up this sacred monument in this church.”¹

A more ancient and much more important record of the stone than this comparatively modern inscription, may be found in a “Passionarium” of the twelfth century, where we read : “But at a certain time, while he was building the church of St. Vincent, and stones were wanting, . . . upon the report of a

¹

“D. O. M.

O quisquis legis—Lapis es, ni lapis hic te moveat—In admirationem et cultum D. Frigidiani—Qui—Templo huic construendo—Molem hanc de montibus ad quantum lapidem nactus—Viribus impar, sed spiritu fervens—Mira facilitate manibus humerisque, suis et Canonicorum—In plaustrum binis indomitis vacculis trahendum impositam—Sexto salutis saeculo—Hac in aede statuit sacrum monumentum.”

rustic labourer, who stated that there was in a field (commonly called The Cow's), not far from the town, a marble stone of wonderful size. . . . Which hearing, the Man of God . . .



Fig. 22.—WILD COW OF S. FREDIANO.

forthwith sent servants along with workmen, and bid them hastenthither. [*And these having reached the place,*] were unable to draw it thence. [*Then S. Frediano,*] trusting in the power of Christ, set forth to the place with his clergy. Having offered a prayer, he forthwith placed it on a cart and drew it as if bearing no weight. Two wild cows being harnessed, he surely speeded to the church of St. Vincent " (see p. 44).

It has been suggested by a certain Dr. Targioni, referred to by Bertini, that this slab (fig. 21) was once the podium (step) on the threshold of the court of the Decurio or some provincial magistrate, which may have been carried from the ruins of the amphitheatre with the columns that now adorn the church of S. Frediano. The name of the village whence this stone was carried, SS. Lorenzo e Valentino di Vaccole, is to be found in a document of the eighth century, an instrument of the year 719, preserved among the archives of the archiepiscopal palace in Lucca.

The most important monument in this church is the font of S. Frediano, which now stands in the side aisle of the church to the right as you enter the building (figs. 23, 24). It is of white marble, richly sculptured, and is held to have been the work of Biduino of Lucca, A.D. 1100. This font was removed from the baptistery of SS. Giovanni e Reparata in the year 1803. A long procession of figures forms a frieze on the face of the circular parapet. These are divided into groups standing beneath a series of arcades. The whole is raised on a plinth of two steps. Among

the figures we recognise the Good Shepherd, bearing the lamb on His shoulders, the apostles, and a female figure, presumably the penitent Magdalene, who thrusts her fingers through the thick masses of wavy hair that fall around her shoulders. Then comes a group that would seem to symbolise Charity. A motherly yet queenly figure is seated on a throne to the right. She takes an infant from the arms of a poor woman, while another woman comes behind, carrying one child upon her back

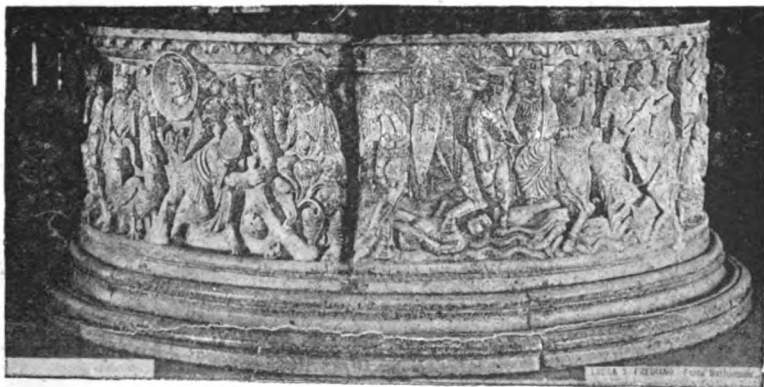


Fig. 23.—FONT OF SAN FREDIANO, LUCCA.

and holding another by the hand, while a little boy, reduced to a skeleton through starvation, is lying on the ground at her feet. Then follow a long series of types of baptism, the deliverance of Israel, the history of Moses and the bush, and the serpent, which is here represented as a dragon, the passage through the Red Sea of the army of Pharaoh led by the king on horseback, wearing his crown and royal tunic, he and his warriors being all arrayed in costumes of the twelfth century. In the last compartment are figures typical of the Law and the Gospel. Moses takes the tables of the Law from God the Father, an angel stands

behind, and the bust of a divine figure, set in an aureole, is seen above. Christ is represented as seated on a throne holding the Gospel in His hand.

Both the forms and types in these groups, such as the image of Christ Kriophoros,¹ resemble those on early Christian sarcophagi, while the circular medallion in which the face of God the Father is enframed distinctly recalls the portraits of the Dead seen on Etruscan tombs. There is no perspective in the grouping, each

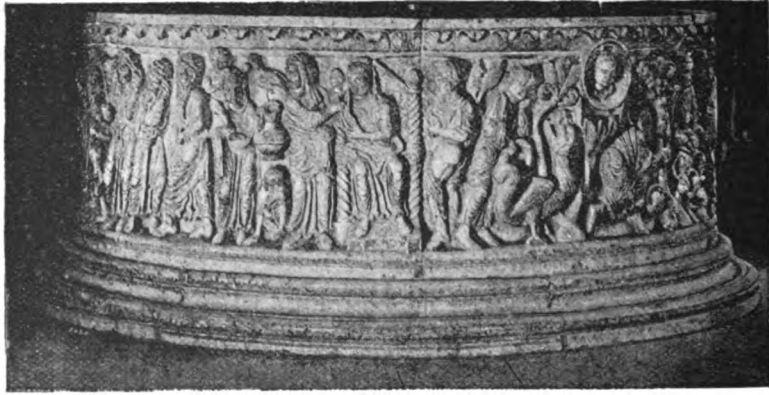


Fig. 24.—FONT OF SAN FREDIANO, LUCCA.

figure stands forward, and the whole surface of the frieze is covered. The treatment of the human form shows a knowledge of plastic art, the limbs being distinctly expressed under the outlines of the drapery. These figures are often exaggerated in action, yet they are conceived with art, and each tells its own story, while the muscles of those parts where the limbs are bare are well worked out. Although the trees are represented as saplings, yet the foliate forms are Romanesque, as is also the throne on which the crowned female figure is seated. The

¹ Christ Kriophoros, *i.e.*, The Ram-bearer.

types of face throughout are Etruscan in their broad ovals, their great deepset eyes, heavy and powerful jaws, and yet there is much in the art of this monument to remind us of the sculpture on the west front of the Duomo, especially that in the group of the Fall of Man, although here the figures are more slender and graceful. The trees and foliage, besides, are very similar in character. It is as if, in the font of San Frediano, we gained a glimpse of the ancestry of the art in the portico of the cathedral.¹

It is quite clear from the present condition of this fine monument that it is not only imperfect as it now stands, but that it has been displaced and has suffered from the displacement. It was moved from its original position and taken to pieces in the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was carelessly replaced, its parts being bonded together as now by clumsy iron bonds and coarse cement. In one place the last words of an inscription are broken away. This has been mistaken for the original inscription of the artist who executed the work. The ill-formed letters, the clumsiness and want of skill with which they are cut into the marble, all prove them to be the work of a hand unused to the chisel, so that there is every reason to doubt that they have any connection with the author of the work, and make it appear that they were rather scratched upon the stone by some builder or workman employed for repairs of one of the figures. This inscription reads as follows:—

“✠ ME FECIT I A[R]T[E] P[ER]ITVS ROBERTUS
MAGIST IME PINS . . .”

A statuette of St. John the Baptist was placed on a pillar in the centre of the basin in the eighteenth century. Since an account of this monument was published by Ridolfi in 1877, further portions of it have been discovered in a garden close by,

¹ See A. Schmarsow, “S. Martin von Lucca,” p. 33. Breslau, 1890.

and I have to thank Cavaliere Norfini for taking me to see them. It now appears that it was not a font, as people have supposed, in the ordinary sense, but a fountain. From the centre of the large basin arose a pillar which supported a vase (fig. 25). Six little pillars rose from the sides of this vase, crowned by a cupola of marble. The water rose through a pipe in the centre of the main stem piercing the bottom of the vase, and played as a fountain in the space below the cupola. Falling first into the



Fig. 25.—VASE AND PILLAR OF FONT IN S. FREDIANO.

upper vase, the water issued from the open mouths of the heads placed at regular intervals in its sides, and fell like a veil around it into the principal basin below. The central pillar of the fountain is carved so as to represent waves or falling water, amid which the soul, under the image of a little child, may be seen to stand, while on the back of the wave the demons that have been washed out of him are tumbling away.

The sculptures of the cupola symbolise the seasons of man's life by the seasons of the year, and the figures at the top are the twelve apostles. A socket on the summit was probably meant to sustain a cross surmounting the whole. A monument of a similar nature to this is the fountain or baptismal font of S. Cathaldus in the atrium of his basilica at Tarentum.

Does it not seem probable that these monuments were not fonts for total immersion, but that they belong to that class described by Canon Venables in the "Dictionary of Christian

Antiquities," as fountains at the entrance of churches, usually placed in the centre of the cloistered atrium as symbols of purification, affording means of cleansing to those who were going into the church? Reference is made to such monuments by the early fathers, and quoted by Canon Venables, but this writer does not give one single instance of an example existing at the present day.

Passing down the aisle we come to the chapel of St. Augustine on the left hand of the side door, the walls of which were painted in fresco by Amico Aspertini of Bologna, a scholar of the celebrated Francia. The subject of one of these frescoes is the miracle wrought by S. Frediano when he changed the course of the river Serchio (fig. 27). The saint may be seen with a rake in his hand,



Fig. 26.—CANOPY OF FONT OF SAN FREDIANO.

surrounded by all his canons, who were witnesses of the great miracle. The same subject is painted by Fra Filippo Lippi, in a small picture which forms the first of three subjects in a predella of the *Barbadori* altar-piece now in the Louvre (Fig. 10). This predella is preserved in the Accademia of Florence (Sala 2, No. 42). In the altar-piece to which it belongs, the Holy Virgin is represented standing before the throne; she holds the infant Jesus, who is adored by two abbots kneeling. Six angels surround the Virgin, holding lilies; one of the

abbots is S. Frediano, the other St. Augustine. The picture and this predella came originally from the church of Santo Spirito in Florence.



Fig. 27.—S. FREDIANO TURNS THE COURSE OF THE RIVER SERCHIO.
Amico Aspertini.

A tradition exists at Lucca that the remains of a certain English king, St. Richard, are buried beneath the altar of the

holy sacrament in this church, famous as one of the most beautiful works of Jacopo della Quercia. This Richard is believed by the people of Lucca to have been the nephew of Offa, to whose throne he succeeded. Having, it is said, reigned gloriously for some time, he yielded up his sceptre to his nobles, and starting on a pilgrimage he finally came to Lucca, in which city he died in the year 750.¹ Fanucchi, p. 185, suggests that he may have come to visit the sepulchre of S. Frediano, this being the only relic of note at that time in the city.

Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy dismisses this legend as wholly fictitious, and not worthy of admission in the pages of authentic history.² The pilgrimage and death of this Richard in the monastery of St. Frigidian at Lucca are described by Gretser, "Observationes," pp. 306, 316, 320. John Pole, "Catalogus Episcop. Eystettens.," pp. 431-9; John Evelyn, "Diary," ed. Bray, May, 1645, and Baronius, "Annales," A.D. 750, ix., give copies of this epitaph.

"Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptrifer almus :
Rex fuit Anglorum : Regnum tenet ipse polorum.
Regnum demisit, pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
Hic genitor Sanctæ Wulburgæ³ Virginis almæ,
Est Vrillebaldi⁴ sancti simul et Vinebaldi⁵
Suffragium quorum det nobis regna Polorum. Amen.

Baronius says the sister of King Offa was mother of the blessed Richard. Mabillon, in "Iter Italicum," xxiv., p. 189: "Sancti Fridiani, aliis Frigidiani, ecclesia Canonorum haud ignobilis, Richardi Anglorum regis quem sanctum appellant, tumulo illustrata est."

Cardinal Newman has observed when writing on St. Richard

¹ Newman says 722. See Oxford Series, "Lives of the Saints," 1844.

² "Descriptive Catalogue," No. 971, vol. i., p. 431.

³ Wualburgæ. ⁴ Vuillebaldi. ⁵ Vuinibaldi.—Evelyn's "Diary," vol. i., p. 173, corrected from Baronius.



Fig. 28.—SAN MARTINO, LUCCA.

in the Oxford series : "His mother is called sister of some Offa, but whether of East Angles or some other is disputable." St. Boniface was born in Crediton, and is said to have been born in Richard's kingdom. In the Salisbury Service Book he is called son of Lothaire, King of Kent. His wife, Winna, was sister of St. Boniface. They travelled with a large body of pilgrims from Rouen to Lucca, in which city they were received with hospitality. Here the king fell ill and died, and was buried in St. Frigidian's church in the autumn of the year 722. Afterwards the people of Lucca resisted all appeals to resign the care of his bones. There are tales of miracles worked at his grave after the invention of his body, for the memory of where he was laid was forgotten for awhile.

The Cathedral of San Martino (fig. 28) is the third church connected with the history of Frediano in Lucca. It is said to have been founded by this saint, and dedicated by him to St. Martin of Tours. It is interesting to remark that this St. Martin of Tours was the first teacher of Ninian, who founded the church of Candida Casa, or Whitherne in Wigtonshire, where Finian of Moville was so long a student.

The foundation of the church of San Martino in Lucca took place between the years 560 and 588, and the church is mentioned in a parchment document, dated 725, as the seat of a bishopric. In the year 780 the crypt was restored and ornamented by order of Bishop John, when the bones of SS. Regolo and Waldo or Gualdo were translated to this church. A portico was then added to the building, beneath which moneychangers and other merchants, called *speciari*, pursued their trades. The same bishop also caused a little chapel to be erected and dedicated to the Saviour, which was meant to enshrine the Volto Santo, the Holy Face, the clothed image of Christ crucified, said to have been carved by Nicodemus, and which, bound to the mainmast of some phantom ship, sail-less, rudderless, and

unmanned, was miraculously drifted from the Holy Land to the coast of Tuscany, and up the river Serchio to the city of Lucca. The old chronicler of Lucca, Bishop Tolomeo, asserts that the

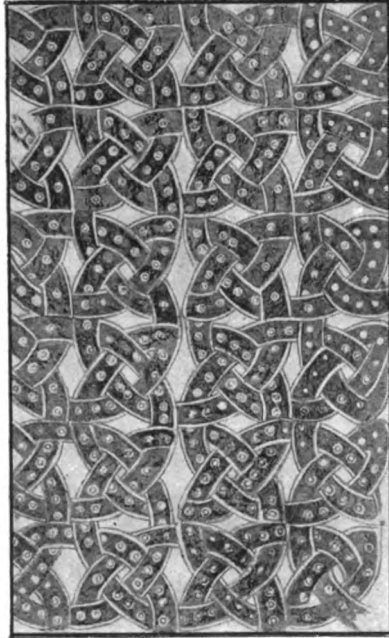


Fig. 29.—INTERLACÉD ORNAMENT ON PORCH OF SAN MARTINO.

church of San Martino was enlarged and much improved by Anselm, who was afterwards Pope Alexander II. This gives credibility to an inscription of a later date, which states that the transepts of the church were then added, changing the ground-plan from that of the simple basilica to the Latin cross. The work was completed in ten years, and solemnly consecrated by Pope Alexander in 1070. The same inscription records that a bishop's residence was erected in the vicinity of the building, and also a *terrena podestà*, which was a tribunal destined to adjudicate and pass sentence on such frauds as should be committed by the money-changers and the *speciari* who

held stalls beneath the atrium, and that in the following century Bishop Rangenius forbade them on their oath to cheat. The façade of the restored church still appears in the inner wall of the porch; this was never completed, but remained in the rough, and the horizontal keys may still be seen destined to receive the marble facings originally intended for its adornment. The

old atrium, or porch, was preserved and restored in its present form in the following century (fig. 28). The supervision of the restoration of the façade, with the special stipend allotted for it, was entrusted to Master Guido, the Marmolario di San Martino, one of these master-workers who directed and provided for the ornamental parts of the building, and who in this case designed the present sumptuous façade to replace the ancient front of the church.

“MILL. CC. IIII.

CONDIDIT ELECTI TAM PULCRAS DEXTRA GUIDECTI.”

This inscription, giving the name of the artist and date 1204, appears upon this very rich portico. He was obliged to narrow the span of one of the three arches in order to leave untouched the campanile, which rises close to the side of the building, but he strove to compensate for this defect by more elaborate decoration.

In the year 1308 the transept was ornamented and enlarged by Matteo Campanari, who obtained from Bishop Enrico eighty feet of land for the extension of the building to the east. The new apse and the enlarged transept and walls were raised to a certain height. Bonaventura Rolenzi carried on the work, as we learn from the inscription outside the choir:—

“✚ HOC OPUS INCEPTUM FUIT TEMPORE SER. MACTHEI CAMPANARI OPERARII OPERE SANCTE CRUCIS A.D. MCCCVIII ET MORTUUS EST DICTUS OPERARIUS A.D. MCCCXX LOCO EJUS SUCCESSIT SER. BONAVENTURA ROLENTI, QUO ANNO IPSUM HOC OPUS REASSUNSI AB HINC SUPRA.”

Campanari also commenced the Campo Santo on the plan of that of Pisa, which however was left unfinished for want of funds. Such are the facts stated by the antiquaries of Lucca as to the history of this fine building. Mr. Freeman draws attention

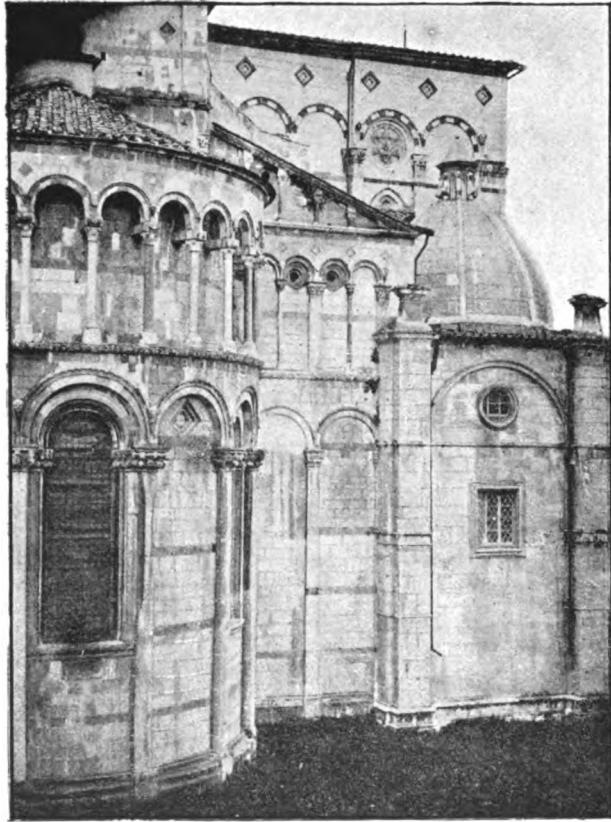


Fig. 30.—SAN MARTINO, LUCCA. PART OF APSE.

to the interesting fact that the Bishop Anselm who enlarged the building in 1053, was the same personage who blessed the enterprise of William the Conqueror when he invaded England, but he believes that the only part of Anselm's work remaining is the apse. "The style," he says, "is a not very rich, but a very highly-finished, Romanesque, such as in any northern



Fig. 31.—CODEX P., ARCHIVIO DELL' ARCIVESCOVATO, LUCCA.
Codex of the ninth century. Head of S. Frediano in initial letter.

country would belong to the twelfth century, and not to its earliest years. . . . A range of tall columnar arcades supports an open gallery, after the Italian and German fashion. This apse is a grand and stately work, and it supplies a striking contrast to the minute, elaborate, and even fantastic ornament

of the west front. This last, as the dated inscriptions bear witness, was built during the first forty years of the thirteenth century, and it shows what the Italian Romanesque could grow into without any foreign intermixture. In the lowest stage three magnificent arches form a vast portico, within which are the actual doorways; above are three ranges of open galleries, covered, in their capitals, shafts, and cornices, with all the devices of an exuberant fancy."¹

Albergo dell' Universo, Lucca.

October, 1889.

DEAR H.,

Yesterday I went on my first country expedition in search of some of the twenty-eight churches founded by Frediano when Bishop of Lucca. Miss Porter came with me, and we started in the steam-tram that leaves for Ponte Moriano at 10.25 a.m. Moriano is a district in Val di Serchio on the right bank of the river, which, after passing Sesto and the Ponte Moriano, reaches the Ponte San Quirico. When we reached Moriano, we found it to be a most beautifully situated village close under the mountains, on the way to the baths of Lucca, standing on the banks of the Serchio, which is crossed here by a fine bridge. We set off on foot for the church founded by our saint in memory of the great miracle which he worked here when he changed the course of the river Serchio. The church is now called Santa Maria a Sesto; the instrument is still in existence, dated the 29th August, A.D. 806, from Jacopo, Bishop of Lucca, investing Agiprando with this church. The parish of Santa Maria a Sesto numbered 310 inhabitants in 1032.

I did not find very much that was interesting in the church except the very small round apse at the east end, which, how-

¹ See "Hist. and Arch. Sketches," Ed. A. Freeman, p. 96.

ever, was so thickly surrounded by mulberry trees that I could not photograph it, and there was no time to make a drawing. Having photographed the tower, we returned to the little inn at Ponte Moriano, where we had an excellent lunch, and then set off in one of the cars of the district, a most uneasy vehicle,



Fig. 32.—STATUE OF S. FREDIANO ON
PONTE SAN QUIRICO.

to ascend the mountain to S. Giorgio in Brancoli (figs. 33, 34). We went up a winding road through woods of olive, mulberry, and chestnut, with groups of cypress trees at intervals along the mountain brow, till we reached the church. Brancoli, anciently *Branculæ*, is also in the Val di Serchio, on the summit of hills which rise on the left side of the river. These hills, part of the

western side of Monte Pizzorno, command a delightful view of the valley of the Serchio and the northern plain of Lucca, rich with plantations, mulberry and olive woods, vineyards, and clear streams flowing between.

The church here was much more interesting than the last one,



Fig. 33.—S. GIORGIO IN BRANCOLI.

and I made two photographs, one of the tower and west end, and another of the east end. There is a remarkable pulpit inside, raised on pillars supported by four grotesque animals; but a storm came on, and we had to leave before I could make any drawing.

Albergo dell' Universo, Lucca.
Nov., 1889.

DEAR H.,

Yesterday I drove in one of the public conveyances to the

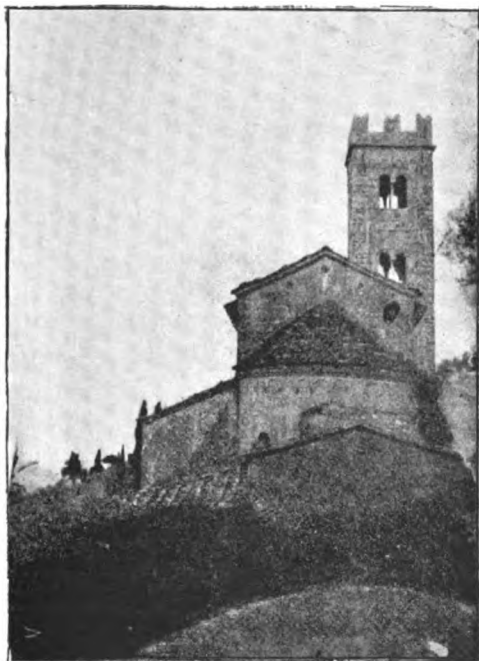


Fig. 34.—S. GIORGIO IN BRANCOLI.

churches of Lunata and Lammari. You will remember how Frediano, after his great work of turning the course of the Serchio, was obliged to leave Lucca on account of the excitement produced by this event, and that he sought quiet and retire-

ment, in fact, he went into retreat, in the hermitage of Lunata (see p. 43). On this episode in his life an ancient writer has the following verses, which appear in a codex quoted by Fiorentini¹ :—

“ Then it pleased the saint to live alone at Lunata,
Desiring to serve Christ in the hermit life.
The wicked rustics, angered at seeing such things,
Made assault upon their pastor, beating and wounding him.
The prelate having suffered these things returned to the city.”²

The church of Lunata, originally dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and now called S. Frediano de Lunata (fig. 35), is not in itself interesting; but there is a very old Lombardic campanile beside it, and there are portions of an old wall which the people say was there before the course of the Serchio was changed, with marks in the stones where the iron rings were once fixed to which boats on the river were tied. Close by the gate of this church stands the house of Civitale, the great sculptor of Lucca. Taking a little boy with me as guide, I walked along a narrow by-road which winds through trees and fields up to Lammari, passing many farmhouses where the yards before their doors were carpeted by the various coloured seeds spread out to dry. A wonderful effect of colour was produced by the fashion they have here of drying their Indian corn by tying the pods in festoons, which, glowing in golden and orange hues, hang like tasseled curtains upon the walls of their houses from

¹ “De Orig. Piet. Hætruscæ,” cap. ix. ; D. Bertini, “Mem. e Docum.,” dissert. iv., tom. iv.

² “Tunc placuit Sancto Lunatis degere solus;
Ast heremum cupiens Christo servire volebat.
Improba rusticitas tabuit dum talia cernit,
Verberat, et cedit, Pastori simbola fecit.
Talia sustinuit Praesul, remeavit ad urbem.”

the roof to the ground. When I reached the church of Lammari (fig. 36), now dedicated to St. James the Apostle and to St. Christopher, I was astonished to find so fine a building in this out-of-the-way place. It is situated in the eastern plain of Lucca, in the midst of richly cultivated fields. Mention is made of the old church of Lammari in two ancient parchments preserved in the archiepiscopal archives of Lucca, one of which is dated 906, and the other 1056. The place now seemed quite

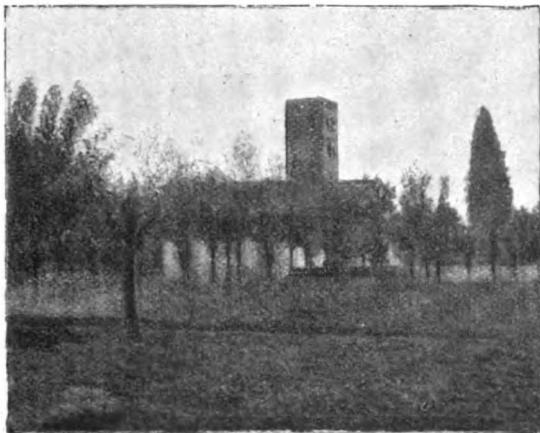


Fig. 35.—S. FREDIANO OF LUNATA.

deserted, nor did I see an ecclesiastic all the time I was there. I asked a poor woman in a house close by, who was nursing a very sickly infant, whether anyone could show me into the baptistery; she rose at once and said she would go and look for the key. After I had waited about a quarter of an hour, she returned and led me into the church through the south transept, down the aisle to a small door in a corner near the west end. She unlocked the door with difficulty, when we entered the dila-

pidated and long-disused baptistery. Yet here I found a most impressive monument. It was a baptismal fountain, not a mere font, and in a deep niche in the wall over the basin was one of the most solemn and beautiful statues of our Saviour that I have ever seen. Bending over the font and looking down into its waters, the Redeemer holds a chalice in His right hand which catches the sacred stream that flows from the wound in

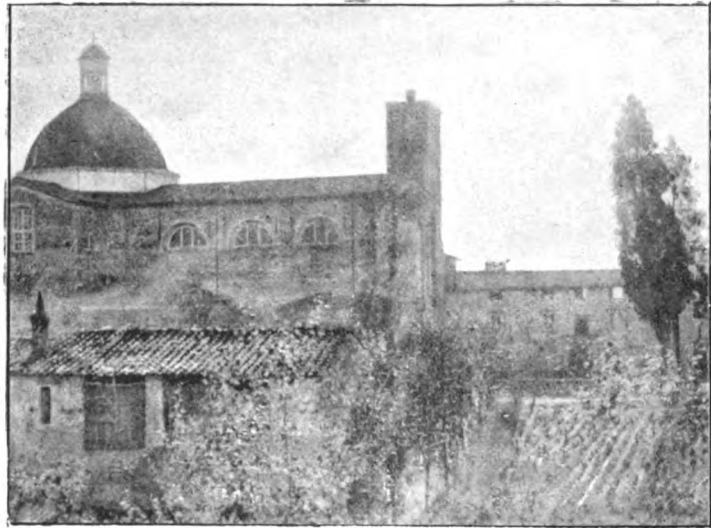


Fig. 36—SS. JACOPO E CRISTOFORO, LAMMARI.

His own pierced side. It is as though we heard Him say, "Are ye ready to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" (fig. 37).

This figure bears an extraordinary resemblance to the figure in a painting by Giovanni Bellini lately purchased for the National Gallery in London, called the "Blood of the Redeemer." The head and form are much the same, but in the

painting the Saviour's left arm encircles His cross, while an angel kneels and holds the chalice to His bleeding side. It is



Fig. 37.—STATUE OVER FONT AT LAMMARI.

probable that the statue is the work of Civitale, the sculptor whose house I had just seen at Lunata, but I have hitherto

failed to find any mention of this font in the notices of this artist by Burckhardt and others.

This sculptor, named Matteo Civitale di Giovanni, was born at Lucca in 1435. His figure of St. Sebastian in that city was known to have been copied by Perugino in his Entombment; but his greatest work is the statue of Faith in the Uffizi, which embodies his best qualities of earnestness and devotion; indeed, no artist of his day treated Christian subjects with so little conventionality and such depth of feeling.

Next day we drove to Arliano, where we explored the church of St. John the Baptist founded by S. Frediano. The expedition was a difficult one; the river Serchio was so much swollen, and the country so flooded, that the water was often above the axle of the wheels. We passed a fine old castle on a height called Nozzana, but when we reached our destination, I found it impossible to get a point of view, so buried was the church in trees. There was a fine tower, and nothing could be more charming than the priest's house adjoining the church, and the lovely view to be seen from its cloistered walks.¹

With Arliano I was compelled to close my excursions around Lucca in search of memorials of S. Frediano. Time was passing, and I had yet much to do exploring the localities of another Irish saint, Silao (Sillan), who died at Lucca, as well as to follow out the traces of our countrymen throughout other parts of Italy. But how willingly should I have continued my excursions through this delightful country, and how sorry I was to leave it without visiting the remaining churches on the list of those founded by our saint (see p. 44 *supra*).

¹ This Arliano, anciently Arlianum, stands on the right bank of the Serchio, between the rock of Nozzana and the Strada R. Postale of Monte di Quiesa, five miles west of Lucca. The archives of Lucca preserve memorials of Arliano as old as the year 776. The church of St. John the Baptist of Arliano has six filial dependencies.

Visitors to Lucca when they enter the Pinacoteca to see the two greatest works of the painter Fra Bartolommeo, the Ecstasy of the Magdalene and St. Catherine, and the Virgin of Mercy, should pass on to the Sala Communale, where there is a small collection of very interesting examples of early wood-carving and sculpture. Across the first window they will see a white marble monument of rare beauty and feeling by some unknown artist. This is a recumbent statue of an aged man (fig. 38), one of those beautiful tombs of the time of Jacopo della Quercia, referred to by Ruskin as common in Italy, in his exquisite description of the statue of Ilaria Guinigi. Like her he lies upon a simple couch,



Fig. 38.—S. SILAO [ST. SILLAN].

the head resting on the pillow, the feet hidden by the drapery, the hands crossing as they fall. But here the likeness ends. No fair, smooth brow with braided hair, nor full and tender lips that breathe of love, meet the eye here ; but something quite as solemn, quite as lovable. It is the face of a worn and aged man, moulded and furrowed by the strife within that has left its mark in every line around the sad and patient mouth. The rough and wasted hands, the furrowed cheeks, all speak of labour and sorrow in the past of one who was obedient unto death. The story of a long life of patient endeavour and baffled hopes, seems so plainly written in this face and wasted form,

H

one can but feel thankful that he sleeps "in deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill."

This is the tomb of our old Irish saint, Sillan, who, returning from Rome some time in the sixth century, died here on his way home to Ireland (see fig. 38).

I send you the legend of this saint to be read before my next letter.

LEGEND OF ST. SILLAN OF IRELAND.

Circa 450-500. *May 21.*

AUTHORITIES.

"Vita di S. Silao vescovo Irlandese," F. M. Fiorentini. "AA. SS. Boll., Maii XXI." O'Hanlon, "Lives of Irish Saints," vol. v., p. 528.

ALL the biographers of this holy man are agreed in saying that Ireland was his birthplace; one ancient writer expressly states that he came from Hibernia of the Scots, but it is not known what part of Ireland he was born in. His ancestors appear to have belonged to the province of Connaught, where places named in his life are to be found. His parents were of royal family, but their names and titles are forgotten. We hear of a sister named Mionghar¹ and a brother named Maedoc, who dwelt on an island off the coast of Connaught. The author of his life more than once makes mention of his mother, and particularly in connection with two miracles of his childhood. On one occasion the mother left the infant alone, when suddenly the whole house, with the cradle in which he was lying, was surrounded by a flame which burned steadily but without destroying anything. He is also said to have drawn fire from water. As he advanced to boyhood, Sillan was placed under the discipline of Signabo, a learned and powerful noble, who employed him to transcribe the gospel of St. Matthew. He so greatly longed to possess a copy of this scripture for himself, that while he laboured through the day for Signabo he devoted his nights to making his own special transcription. But it was the jealous desire of Signabo to be the sole possessor of the gospel, and he forbade the youth to give a copy to any other person. He then employed a confidential servant to

¹ The "daughter of Mionghar" is commemorated in the "Martyrology of Donegal," June 25.



watch him through the dead hours of night, that his work should not be transcribed for others. The servant could see the saint through the window as he laboured on at his writing, when all the others were at rest, and found that the fingers of the youth's left hand were changed into burning tapers by aid of whose miraculous light he multiplied his copies of the sacred volume. Sillan guessed that the servant of Signabo had discovered him, and, indignant at the invidious curiosity of the master, he prophesied that his indiscreet eye should soon be punished. The servant of Signabo, hearing this prophecy of Sillan, was gravely alarmed and confided his fears to his patron, who reassured him. Nevertheless, the prophecy was fulfilled in the end, for the next morning a crane with his beak destroyed the sight of the servant. The enraged Signabo, with bitter words, took away the copy that the saint had made. Sillan mourned over his lost treasure as over that which had been to him the source of all divine knowledge. He related the story to his brethren and to his father, who came to his aid, but his royal authority was exercised in vain. Signabo, angry and jealous, refused to return the manuscript. They determined to try the issue in battle, and owing to the earnest prayers of the saint his brothers came off victorious, and his copy of the scriptures was restored.

In the west of Ireland there stands a very high mountain, called in the old life of the saint, Croagh Patrick, which is believed to be the native place of Sillan. This mountain was at that time a hell inhabited only by demons, who dwelt in its impenetrable recesses. The holy St. Patrick visited this place, and, after having fasted for forty days, he sanctified it, clearing this nest of the accursed instruments of the enemy of man, and consecrating it to the service of God. He led a number of his disciples to the foot of the mountain, and there chose Sillan, already known for his singular virtue, from among them. He desired him to climb the mountain, and to try whether he could put the demons to flight by the power of prayer. Sillan obeyed, and began to climb to the top of the highest cliff to a place which is called in the old lectionary the Path of the Clouds. But either that his faith wavered in consequence of the terrible howlings of the demons and their frightful apparitions, or that God willed to show forth more fully still the power he had given

to St. Patrick, he allowed the furious demons not only to kill the holy youth, but also to tear him limb by limb. The demons took the form of the cruel wild beasts of the desert where they lived, and Sillan, who had irritated them by his curses, was thus cruelly lacerated. In the end the death of Sillan proved for the greater glory of God. The holy Patrick with his disciples ascended the mountain, and with a voice like thunder he exorcised the demons, whose dwellings crumbled away from around them at the terrible sound, while they fled, now as much confounded by his presence as before they had been exultant in the murder of Sillan. The disciples ascended to the rock their master had just taken by assault, rejoicing in his victory. But Patrick, only mourning over the loss of Sillan, devoted himself to putting together the torn limbs of his beloved disciple, preparing them for consecration and Christian interment. However, he first offered a fervent prayer imploring the Almighty not only to reunite the members, but to restore life to him who had only fallen in blind obedience to himself. With a holy terror mixed with joy he saw the body revive, and it is said that St. Patrick never spoke of this miracle except to two of his disciples, Ailbe and Ibar.

Sillan was then restored to his parents, who with his brother Maedoc and his sister Mionghar were won over to the Christian faith.

Some time after, Sillan was ordained priest, a holy virgin, St. Ita, lay sick in her bed, and on a certain solemn festival she greatly longed to receive the sacrament from the hand of some holy monk. Now it happened that at that moment Sillan was celebrating mass in the city of Cluain, and when he came to elevate the host, he perceived that a portion of the sacred bread was gone. An angel, invisible to the holy man, had taken this portion and carried it to St. Ita, and she was consoled with the divine food; but when it was discovered that a portion of the host had disappeared, there was great consternation among the priests. They, with the clergy and people of Cluain, united in fasting and prayer, entreating of God that he would explain this mystery. The secret was revealed to an aged priest, and Sillan, after remaining eight days in prayer, hastened to the suffering Ita, whom he found miraculously restored.¹

¹ "Officium S. Sylai," Lect. v.

Sillan was a loving father to the miserable, but a stern preacher to the wicked, and became one of the greatest ornaments of the Christian church after he was elected bishop. His merits were celebrated in the following hymn:—

“Pauperibus debilibus
Fuit pater sollicitus.
Corde amat, ore clamat.
Illustravit, decoravit
Totam Deus Hiberniam
Per Beatum tunc Sylaum
Magno salutis gaudio.”

“To the poor and the infirm
He was an anxious father.
Loving-hearted he cries aloud with
his voice.
God blessed and enlightened
All Ireland at that time
Through the blessed Sylaus
With the great joy of salvation.”

On one occasion when he was on a journey, he was compelled to seek lodgings in the monastery of an Abbot Arrameno, who resenting his intrusion, and being an avaricious man, although it was a fast day gave him stale meat to eat and water to drink, thinking that, hungry, cold and wet as he was, the saint would be tempted to eat anything. Sillan, untroubled by the avarice and discourtesy of the abbot, put his trust in God. He blessed the unsuitable meal, and changed the water into beer and the flesh into fish and bread, so that while still observing his fast he could satisfy his hunger. Beholding this miracle, the abbot fell at the feet of the bishop, no less repentant for his error than eager for his forgiveness. The fame of the saint was thus greatly increased, and the king of the neighbouring town, when upon his deathbed, sent for him. He died, leaving the queen his wife pregnant, but sustained by the hope that a son might be born of her. However, when her full time came, the queen to her sorrow gave birth to a girl. She sent the girl to Sillan, imploring him to turn it into a boy, and threatening to exile him from the kingdom if he failed. Then from the prayers of the saint, this miracle was wrought, and a male heir provided for the kingdom.

The mother of Sillan was still alive, but had grown so old and decrepit that she feared to go to church. The holy saint lamented the weakness of her body, but still more the loss to her spiritual life. He went to her and gave her a ripe apple; while she was thanking him for this, it slipped from her fingers and fell upon the ground. The enfeebled woman was enticed

to follow the fruit, which rolled along the road to church on and on before her, while she at intervals stooped, striving in vain to catch it. It still rolled on, until it led her to the church door.

There was an island called Tressere, which the holy saint and his clergy once visited, when a solitary woman was received into the hospital and placed under the care of a guardian, where she died. The saint was much troubled at this, and had recourse to prayer. He waited till the third day after her death, and then, as an old writer has testified, he restored her to life who had been three days dead.

On another occasion, the brother of Sillan, Maedoc, was living on a little island in the sea. The saint desired to visit him, but the ferryboat did not appear, and the sea was impassable; then the saint pressed his hands upon the grey flagstone upon which he sat, and ordered it to bear him to his brother. The stone became light and movable, and floated forth upon the face of the waters, wafted onwards by the gentle breath of the divine spirit; it bore the saint across to the island, as is sung in the ancient hymn, "*Lapis navis sitque Dei potentia.*"

It happened that a war broke out in the country of Sillan, and his sister Mionghar was wounded in the head by the blow of an axe. The bishop lovingly hurried to the side of his dying sister, and while he was praying for her restoration the wound was seen to close up. Mionghar, thus miraculously restored to health, and filled with gratitude for her wonderful recovery, resolved to go upon a pilgrimage to Italy to visit the tombs of the saints in Rome.

On her way she passed through Lucca. At that time there lived in the city a rich nobleman called Soffredus, or Goffredus. He had lost his wife, and was left with an only son. When Mingarda¹ reached Lucca, he heard of her beauty and her royal descent, and resolved to win her in marriage. She yielded to him, and after some years of happy wedded life she was seized with a fatal illness. Feeling death approach, she persuaded her husband to allow her to retire to a convent of holy nuns, then called S. Salvatore, but now Sta. Giustina, that she might there prepare herself for death. Here in a short time she departed. Mean-

¹ Mionghar, Italianised Mingarda.

while her brother Sillan¹ had a troubled time at home. The native kings, many of whom were but half converted, threatened to infringe on his episcopal rights. The saint resolved to seek redress in Rome. Passing through Lucca on his way, he was received by Soffredus with honour, and learned with sorrow of his sister's death. He went to her tomb, visiting the church and nunnery where she had spent her last days, and then proceeded on his way to Rome. Having finished his mission there, he was returning by Lucca, but fell ill on his approach to the city. Warned by God that his end was approaching, he resigned all hope of returning to Ireland. Soffredus sent for him, and received him into his own house, where he attended him with great kindness; but he was a rich man, who lived luxuriously, and the Irish saint longed to prepare for his end by self-mortification and prayer, so he entreated that he might be removed to the sanctuary where his sister had died, and here, after a short time, he entered into his rest, and his body was interred in the church of the convent.

¹ Sillan, Italianised Silao.

LETTERS FROM ITALY.

Albergo dell' Universo,
Lucca.

DEAR FRIEND,

I THINK I have told you all my adventures in quest of the existing memorials of our Irish Bishop of Lucca, Frediano, but you must not expect so rich a harvest in the case of the second Irish saint commemorated here, Sillan. He was so short a time in this town, that it is wonderful that any trace of him remains. I have been most fortunate since I came here, and all the doors have been opened to me by Baron Acton. He saw me coming out of the cathedral with Miss Porter the first day we were here, and on the next he chanced to pick up a sheet of paper containing some notes which I had dropped, and so came most kindly with his daughter to restore them. I told him I had come to hunt up the localities of S. Silao, and learned from him that the convent of S. Giustina had now been amalgamated with that of the Suore dei Servi, and the monastery in which the cell of Silao was to be found being suppressed, the buildings are now utilised for R. R. Ospizj e Ospedali. We started next morning at ten o'clock along the Via S. Giustina till we reached the hospital, and sent in our cards to the resident physician there, who treated us with the greatest courtesy. Full of pride, and indeed of enthusiasm for his work, he led us over this great institution, and certainly I

have never seen a more beautifully organised and more perfectly ordered hospital than this of Lucca appeared to be. The Nuovo Ospitale Civile was constructed by the design of the architect Giuseppe Pardini. The portion occupied by the new buildings rises from the area formerly filled by the monastery of S. Giustina. It is a group of square buildings, with one prolonged angle at the entrance. In the portion set apart for the sick, the buildings surround the old monastic gardens, and the convalescent patients are seen strolling about the ancient cloisters, or sitting looking out upon the Porta San Donato, with a pleasant view of the plains and mountains to the north of Lucca. The works for this new building were begun in 1870, and the hospitals were open to the sick in 1876. But I learned to my grief from the good doctor who guided us how little there was now left of the old convent to which Sillan and his sister had retired. However, he said he knew the site of the oratory, and the little cell at its side in which the saint had died, and he led us along many passages to the dispensary of the hospital. This was formerly the oratory; it is a lofty chamber with a vaulted roof, and at one corner an old door led through a wall of enormous thickness to a little round-roofed chamber, the last cell of our old saint. There was no sign, inscription or otherwise, to mark the history of the place. I had heard of a recumbent statue of the saint, which had stood in the church, but this the doctor told me had been removed to the Pinacoteca, and the other remains of antiquity preserved are some ancient sepulchral inscriptions, among which is one of the tenth century, erected to Ermengard, sister to the Duchess Bertha, and daughter of Lothair. All the precious parchments, seals, and diplomas possessed by the monastery, as well as the old manuscript life of our saint, were deposited in the Archivio di Stato in 1867. Still it seemed strange that no trace of the saint's tomb had been preserved, and when I asked a priest about this whom

I met casually in the street one day, I found that it had been destroyed, but that the faithful nuns of S. Giustina had carried the bones of St. Sillan with them when they moved to the Oratorio delle Suore dei Servi.¹ They lie beneath the altar of their little oratory, above which is a large painting, a work of the sixteenth century, but of mediocre merit, representing the miracle of St. Ita. St. Sillan is seen at the altar of Cluain



Fig. 39.—EFFIGY OF ST. SILLAN IN THE LID OF HIS COFFIN.

elevating the host, and the angel hovers above him who carries the portion to the suffering nun.

I also asked to see the silver shrine of the saint's arm, mentioned by Fanucchi as wrought in 1464; but all trace of this reliquary seems to be lost. What I most deplored was the disappearance of his tomb, which formerly stood in the centre of the nave of the church, as well as an old wooden coffin, on the inside of the lid of which was an effigy of the saint between two angels (fig. 39).²

And now we must bid farewell to the mountains around Pisa

¹ Now situated in Via delle Trombi, close to the Duomo S. Martino.

² See "Vita di S. Silao vescovo Irlandese, da F. M. Fiorentini," Lucca, 1662, p. 93.

and Lucca, and travel northward to Piacenza, which is the starting-point for a visit to the ancient monastery of Bobio in the Apennines, founded by Columban some fifty years after St. Finnian was elected Bishop of Lucca. I send a sketch of his life, only enlarging on those portions of his career when he lived in Ireland and in Italy. Some future day I hope to send you illustrations of his vestiges in France.

LIFE OF ST. COLUMBAN.

Circa 543-615. *November 12th.*

AUTHORITIES.

The monk Jonas of Bobio, "Life of Columban," A.D. 643. "Life of Columban," by an anonymous writer, A.D. 680, see Fleming's "Collectanea," p. 244. "Mirac. S. Columb. transumpta ex MS. Codici Bibl. D. Thuani in suprema Gallicarum." Pier Luigi Della Torre, "Vita di S. Colombano." Massimo da Siregno, 1630, "Vita S. Col." Turin, 1795. Monsignore Antonio Gianelli, "Vita di S. Colombano," Turin, 1844. Ughelli, "Ital. Sacr.," vol. iv. Rossetti, "Bobio Illustrato." Colgan, "A. S. Hib.," 117, 157, c. 12. "Trias Thaum.," 88, c. 98, 113, n. 110. King's "Church Hist. of Ireland," pp. 139, 938, 975, and Appendix.

COLUMBAN is said to have been born of royal parents, A.D. 543, in West Leinster. His first teacher was Sinell, head of a school in Cleenish Island, in Lough Erne. The name of this place is derived from Cluain Inis, the sloping island, and it is, as its name would suggest, a low island, rising from the water. It lies south of Enniskillen, between the upper and lower lake, in the parish of the same name and barony of Clanawley, in the county of Fermanagh. A portion of the island is in the baronies of Maghera Stephana and Tyrkenney. A holy well and the remains of a monastery may still be seen in this parish, and there is a church called Tempul-an-aifrenn, that is, the church of the Mass, in a townland of the same name, which appears to be very ancient. Nothing remains of the old church of St. Sinell on the island except a sculptured fragment representing a woman's head with long plaited hair.

St. Sinell, the founder of this school, was himself the disciple of Finnian of Clonard, and was celebrated for his piety and

knowledge of the scriptures. His memory is venerated on the 12th of November, as we read in the martyrology of Donegal: "Nov. 12. Sinell, son of Mianach of Cluain Inis in Loch Eirne."

It is said that Columban, while still a youth under Sinell's care, wrote an exposition of the Psalms, and composed some other tracts. "Under the guidance of Sinell," says Dr. Moran,¹ "every branch of science was carefully explored by Columban. His biographer, Jonas,² makes mention of his study of grammar, rhetoric, geometry, poetry, and the sacred scriptures. His works, moreover, attest his acquaintance not only with the Latin, but also with the Greek and with the Hebrew tongues."

When Columban had attained the age for priesthood, he passed on to the monastery of St. Comgall, at Bangor, in the county Down. Comgall had himself been the pupil of Fintan of Clonenagh, and was ordained priest at Clonmacnois. He had also passed some time in retirement on an island called "Insula Custodioria," in Loch Erne. He founded the monastery of Bangor, near Carrickfergus Bay, about the year A.D. 552, and soon the number of students in that place was so great that it became necessary to erect various monasteries and cells, in which 3,000 monks are said to have been established. In the martyrology of Donegal we read of him:—

"May 10. He is of the race of the Irial, son of Conal Carnach. Full of the grace of God and of his love was this man. One who fostered and educated very many other saints, and he kindled up an unquenchable fire of the love of God in their hearts and in their minds, as is evident in the old books of Erin." He is named as one among the seven holy men who framed rules for their monastic establishments, the others being Patrick, Bridget, Kieran, Columba, Molaise, and Adamnan.

"Holy is the rule of Bangor," sang a hymn-writer of the seventh century; "it is noble, just, and admirable. Blessed is its community, founded on unerring faith, graced with the hope of salvation, perfect in charity—a ship that is never submerged, though beaten by the waves. A house full of delights, founded

¹ "An Irish Missionary and his Work," by Rev. P. T. Moran, D.D. (A pamphlet.) 1869.

² "Vita," c. 11.

upon a rock. Truly an enduring city, strong and fortified. The ark shaded by the cherubim, on all sides overlaid with gold. A princess meet for Christ, clad in the sun's light. A truly regal hall, adorned with various gems."¹

The present condition of Bangor contrasts sadly with its primitive state. It possesses a church, indeed, and a steeple, but they are modern. There is a cemetery, but no monuments of antiquity therein, and a few dark patches in the garden wall of the parsonage are the only indications of age which the precincts afford.² At the dissolution of religious houses, Bangor was an Augustinian abbey, which dated its origin from the year 1130, when Malachi O'Morgair, the friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and of Cormac MacCarthy, King of Cashel, finding Bangor a waste and its ancient endowments alienated, in his early life made an effort to restore this establishment to its original dignity. The story is told by St. Bernard, in his "Life of Malachi": "A wealthy and influential individual, who was in occupation of the ground of Bencor and its possessions, acting under divine influence forthwith placed all his property and his own services at Malachi's disposal. And though he was his maternal uncle, the bond of the spirit was with Malachi a stronger tie than that of the flesh; the owner bestowed upon him also the site of Bencor, that he might build, or rather rebuild a monastery there. For in early times there had existed in this place, under the founder Comgall, a most noble institution, the parent of many thousand monks, the head of many monasteries. A place it was truly sacred, the nursery of saints, who brought forth fruit most abundantly to the glory of God, insomuch that one of the sons of that holy congregation, Luanus by name, is alone reputed to have been the founder of a hundred monasteries, which I mention for this reason, that the reader may, from this single instance, form a conception of the number to which the remainder of the community amounted. In short, so widely had its branches extended through Ireland and Scotland, that these times appear to have been especially fore-

¹ Muratori, "Anecdota Ambros.," vol. iv., pp. 39-42, from MSS. of Bobio, Ambn. Lib., Milan.

² Dr. Pococke, "Tour in Ireland, 1752," ed. G. T. Stokes, 1891.

shadowed in the verses of David: 'Thou visitest the earth and waterest it; Thou greatly enrichest it; the river of God is full of water; Thou preparest them corn, when Thou hast so provided for it. Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly; Thou makest it soft with showers; Thou blessest the springing thereof.' Nor was it only into the countries I have mentioned, but even into distant lands, that crowds of saints, like an inundation, poured."¹

COLUMBAN LEAVES IRELAND WITH HIS COMPANIONS.

After Columban had spent some time in the monastery of Bangor, he told his master Comgall that God had called him elsewhere, and said that he seemed to hear the voice that spake to Abraham, saying: "Get thee up out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." And though at first Comgall would have compelled him to remain, yet, when he was convinced of his true vocation, he consented to his departure, granting him twelve monks besides, whose names have been handed down to us by Mabillon.²

1. S. Attalus, who became the saint's vicar in the monastery of Luxeuil, and afterwards succeeded him in Bobio, where he died, leaving a great name for sanctity, and where his body still reposes.

2. Columban the younger, of whose holy death we shall have occasion to speak in the course of this history.

3. Cummian.

4. Dogmal, or in Italian Domiziale.

5. Eogain, or in Italian Eguano.

6. Eunan, in Italian Eunoco.

7. S. Gallus, who founded the celebrated monastery called by his name on Lake Constance.

8. Gurgano.

9. Libran.

10. Lua or Potentino, who founded a monastery in Neustria.

¹ "Liber de Vita S. M.," cap. vi., 12.

² "Annal. Bened.;" Gallotta, annot. 6.

11. Sigisbert, who preached the gospel in Rhetia, in the bishopric of Coire, and founded the monastery of Disentis.

12. Waldoleno, who was provost of St. Columban in the monastery of Luxeuil, and who together with S. Walderico propagated the Christian faith among the pagans of Neustria.

Columbanus was thirty years of age when, with these companions, he bade farewell to the monastery of Bangor, and sailed from Ireland, first going on pilgrimage through Scotland, and then through England, stopping here and there to preach the gospel, according as God willed or as he found the people disposed to profit by his teaching.

Finally he passed over to Gaul, and reached Burgundy most probably in the year A.D. 574, when he himself was thirty-one years of age.

Gaul was then divided into three kingdoms, Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, each governed by one of the three sons of Clothair: Chilperic, in Neustria; Sigisbert, in Austrasia; and Gontran, in Burgundy. These brothers were jealous, and their lives were in danger one from another. The queens their consorts did not fail to embitter them, and took part in their bloody wars. The neighbouring nations, taking advantage of this discord, often made raids into the country, carrying disorder and misery in their train. Evil customs and impiety triumphed in this confusion. It was then that God guided Columban and his followers into these regions, so that not only by word of mouth, but by example of life, they might work a true reform; and such, indeed, they did accomplish, by their modesty, love of retirement, patience, mercy, humility, mortification, silence, and perhaps more than all, by their absolute poverty, as that of those who possessed nothing, and who hoped for nothing but to glorify God and to cause Him to be known and to be loved.

The first and most important conversion that the saint made on his arrival in Gaul was that of Sigisbert, King of Austrasia. This king was won over when he heard Columban reason on his faith, on the object of his journeyings, and saw the spirit by which he and his companions were moved. He prayed the saint and his followers not to leave his kingdom, and offered to endow Columban with "whatsoever he desired to ask for."

But the saint, whose hopes were fixed on other things than the blessings and comforts of this life, made answer, "Know, O king! that these things that are in your power to bestow cannot attract me, for there is nothing in all these things to satisfy the heart either of myself or of my companions. We are followers of Jesus Christ, who has plainly said, 'Whosoever will be My disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow Me.' Our object is different from that which you suppose, and in as far as our human frailty may allow, we desire this cross and self-denial. Be it then far from us to seek for comforts, dwellings on fertile farms, or aught else that may be likely to gratify the flesh. We seek for solitude, and some secluded place, wherein to live in penitence and in devotion to God." Then the king answered, "It is well; in this also I can please you. There is a wide desert in my kingdom; I can make it yours. I only pray of you not to leave this country."

Columban, who had already augured well of the disposition of the people, and was conscious of the response made by them to his preaching, finding the king so well inclined to support him, recognized the voice of God in his words, and accepted the offering as if it came from heaven.

On the confines of Austrasia and Burgundy, or rather, as we now learn from Cardinal Orsi, on the confines of Alsace from Lorraine to Burgundy, the vast solitudes of the Vosges extended. This district found favour with Columban and his companions, who, penetrating the forest, came upon an old castle, Anegrates, now Annegray, the village of the commune of Faucogney, in the Haute Saone. This was then but a heap of ruins, surrounded by thick forests, and almost inaccessible rocks. Here these Irish missionaries decided to remain and erect their first monastery. "Here Columban first laid the foundations of his system, as he had learned it in Ireland. These foundations were plain, ay, the very plainest living, high thinking, and hard work. His biographer, Jonas, describes the simple life led at Annegray. Columban lived for weeks without any other food than the herbs of the field, and the wild fruits yielded by the forests around. We trace in him the same love of nature and of natural objects which we find in some of the beautiful stories told of St. Columba. Everything is said to have obeyed his voice; the

birds came to receive his caresses, the squirrels descended from the tree-tops to hide themselves in the folds of his cowl. The example of a quiet Christian household, shedding the blessings of civilization, education, and religion all around, proved a very powerful one even upon men more ferocious than wolves."¹

Many stories are told of the miracles wrought by the prayers of St. Columban. One of the monks at this time being seriously ill, the saint having no means of assistance at hand, desired that all the members of the brotherhood should remain for some time in fasting and prayer; they obeyed, and their faith was rewarded by the recovery of the sick man. Again, in a time of scarcity the brethren had to endure a long and unusual fast, while still compelled to carry on the necessary labours of the institution. At last the monks began to sink from exhaustion, nor had the wild fruits and herbs which were their only food power to restore them. Columban took pity on them, and with unwavering faith he told them to take courage while he retired to pray. Scarcely had his prayer ended, when behold a rich man arrived at their gate and offered them provisions and alms. While in the act of presenting his gifts, this man himself told how that he had a suffering wife at home, whose wasting fever had now lasted a whole year, so that unless God would work a miracle he despaired of her recovery. He asked their prayers for her. Then the saint without pause or delay knelt down with all his monks in prayer, and they implored of God not to leave their benefactor in his anguish. On rising, the saint turned in full confidence to the rich man, exhorting him that he should put his trust in God, and he would be consoled. When he returned to his house he found his wife restored, and his family rejoicing. He then inquired at what hour the fever left her, and learned that it was the same as that on which the blessed anchorite had offered up his prayer.

On another occasion God revealed to Caramtocus, Abbot of Selicense, a place about three leagues from Annegray, that Columban and his monks were in urgent need. When the abbot heard of this, he made no delay, but called his cellarer,

¹ See "Ireland and the Celtic Church," G. T. Stokes, p 136.

named Marcolfus, and told him of his vision, and the command of God, and sent him laden with good provisions to present them to Columban on his part. Marcolfus obeyed, but when he reached the forest he lost his way, nor could he find the path to the monastery of Columban. As he stood in anxious uncertainty, he reflected that if God indeed were willing to succour his servant, he would direct the unreasoning animals before him, and they would be the best guides he could follow. Therefore he allowed his horses to be their own masters, he himself following, and they led him straight to the monastery of Annegray, where he presented the gifts of Caramtocus.

There was a certain cave in a high rock about seven miles away from the monastery, to which Columban wished to retire for solitude and penance, but when he approached its mouth he found a wolf already there who used it as his den. The saint felt no fear, but, armed by the sign of the cross, he commanded the beast to go forth, and yield the den up to him. The wild animal instantly obeyed, nor did he ever venture to return.

Columban took possession of the grotto, and he soon retired to this spot as to the place of his delight. Alone with God he spent his days and his nights in reading and meditation on the holy Scriptures, and in the contemplation of divine things, living meanwhile on herbs and wild fruits. But the evil one, desiring to tempt him, came to him one day and inquired of him whether it were better for a man to be attacked by wild beasts or by barbarous bloodthirsty men. The saint made answer: "Better a thousand times to be assailed by wild beasts, since even though they should tear me to pieces, they are yet without sin; but man cannot do these things without offence to God and calling down judgment upon his soul." The tempter, confounded by the wisdom of this answer, left him for a time, but did not fail to return, and put him to the proof again. A flock of hungry wolves came out of the forest, with horrible howlings and with gaping jaws greedy to devour him. Yet the saint stood fearless even when they began to tear his clothes with their claws; he neither grew pale nor was he disturbed, being well assured no harm could befall him that was not ordained of God. Then the hungry fury of the wild beasts died away, and, as if ashamed of

their powerlessness to harm him, they quitted hold, and one by one departed.¹

On another occasion, when Columban lingered longer than usual in his cave, a case of unusual urgency demanded his return to the community, and a youth named Donald was sent in search of him to bring him back. This boy kindly carried water to his master, as he knew there was none to be found upon the mountains. It happened that Donald, wearied by his long journey, and by the weight of the water-vessel that he carried, began to complain within himself of this penurious life, and the pain and labour it was to him to carry water such a distance. The saint, enlightened by God as to the complaint of Donald, felt compassion for his weariness, and grieved at the thought of the toil and trouble he had caused. "Go there," he said, pointing to a certain place, "to the foot of that rock, and dig as deep as you can, and God will provide for our necessity." Donald obeyed, while Columban knelt in prayer to God to help him in his need. His prayer was heard, and, while the youth was at work excavating the rock, he saw with amazement a fresh stream of purest water well forth and flow through his fingers. This has continued to spring from that rock ever since. The two united in prayer and thanksgiving to God, and repeated the psalm of David when he knelt by that mysterious rock from which Moses drew water to quench the thirst of the people in the desert. "Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob; which turned the rock into a standing water, the flint into a fountain of waters."²

It was about this time that Columban composed his rule, that is, the system or legislative code by means of which the soldiers of Christ in his little band were to direct and control their lives in all things moral, economical, liturgical, and penitential. In this rule there is much in common with that of St. Benedict, with which it was afterwards united and which has been described by Bossuet in the following passage.

¹ This is the miracle referred to when we see in old pictures the saint represented standing in the midst of wolves ready to devour him.

² This legend resembles that in chap. xii. of the "Life of St. Benedict," who works the same miracle for his boy Placidus.

“Cette règle,” writes Bossuet, “c’est un précis du christianisme, un docte et mystérieux abrégé de toute la doctrine de l’Evangile, de toutes les institutions des saints Pères, de tous les conseils de perfection. Là paraissent avec éminence la prudence et la simplicité, l’humilité et le courage, la sévérité et la douceur, la liberté et la dépendance. Là, la correction a toute sa fermeté, la condescendance tout son attrait, le commandement toute sa vigueur, et la sujétion tout son repos; le silence sa gravité, et la parole sa grâce; la force son exercice, et la faiblesse son soutien; et toutefois, mes Pères, il l’appelle un commencement, pour vous nourrir toujours dans la crainte.”¹

It is a mistake to assert that the rule of Columban was copied from that of Benedict; the Irish saint expressly states that he therein prescribes those things that he had learned from his fathers, and especially from the monks in the house of Comgall of Bangor in the county of Down. The similarity between the two systems probably arises from their being derived from a common source, the word of God, the holy Scripture, that being to them the most perfect rule. Love to God being the rock on which it is founded, this rule of Columban’s is, as it were, the spiritual edifice the saint would raise wherein the Christian virtues should be enshrined of obedience, humility, chastity, poverty, disinterestedness, self-denial, silence, discretion, self-mortification. While inculcating the healthiest principles of morality, he shows forth the highest monastic ideal of a perfect and unswerving love of God and withdrawal of the heart from the love of this world by steadfast contemplation of whatsoever things are true and honest, just and pure, lovely and of good report.

St. Benedict in his rule warns his disciples that idleness is the enemy of the soul, and the intervals between the seven canonical hours, according to the seasons of the year, are to be divided between manual labour, reading, and meditation. So in the scheme of Columban’s, these duties take a prominent part: copying manuscripts, teaching in schools, and constant labour in field and forest. Columban himself worked hard in the farm, and it is said that, when digging the ground, he used to wear gloves made of skins, and he held that all members of the priesthood

¹ “Bossuet, Sermons de. Panegyriques.”—Migne, “Coll. des Orateurs Sacrés,” vol. xxv., p. 922.

should do likewise from respect to the divine sacrifice. This is illustrated by a pretty legend, which relates that one day when Columban happened to lay his gloves down, a crow came and carried them away. As soon as the saint heard this, he called out to the bird and ordered him to restore his property, when the crow immediately flew back and laid the stolen gloves at his feet, on which the saint blessed the bird and it departed.

The liturgy was also regulated in the most careful details. The daily office consisted of a certain selection of psalms, which occupied the same length of time to repeat each day, but the nightly office might vary in length according to the change of season. Through the winter the entire psalter should be recited between Saturday and Sunday, that is, seventy-five psalms at night, and twenty-five antiphons so distributed that three psalms came between each antiphon. In spring and autumn these were reduced to thirty-six, and in the summer to twenty-four.

The office of the day was divided into the hours of tierce, sexte, none, and vespers, but it did not include prime and compline. Three psalms for every hour, with prayers for sinners, for Christians, for priests, and for each grade in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for benefactors, for peace in the kingdom at home and with the foe abroad, and twelve psalms at vespers. At the close of every psalm they were to bow the knee. The prayers of these holy men were not confined to the recital of the office in choir. Voluntary prayer, and also prayer in common, was practised by all. Perhaps, indeed, we may say that a life so secluded, so given to almost perpetual silence, was little else than a perpetual prayer.

Certain offences committed either by seculars or ecclesiastics were punished by two hundred stripes, administered twenty-five at a time, and in other cases certain austerities and humiliations were prescribed. These consisted in a rigorous and prolonged silence, fasting on bread and water diet for one or more days, the repetition of a certain number of psalms, prostrating the body on the ground in church during the entire service, and occasionally imprisonment.

The monks were forbidden to communicate with relations or friends, or to receive or write letters without permission of the superior, and, whether going out or coming in, they were to seek

the blessing of the superior, and to bow before the crucifix, and they were to make the sign of the cross over everything that they used before laying hands upon it. The omission of this practice was punished with six stripes.

It was ordered also that the guilty should make confession to the priest, and if the offence were a grave one, they should seek absolution from the superior; if light, from one of the brethren. Besides private confession, the acknowledgment of the fault should be made in the public refectory before supper, or in the choir before retiring to rest. Cleanliness of body and of clothes was insisted on, and for this object each man had two garments, one for the night and the other for the day, and if he wore that of the night while assisting at the sacrament in the morning he was severely punished.

The monks of the order of St. Columban wore a habit of pure white without any dye. They wore a cowl and large sleeves, with a scapular which fell from the shoulders to the knees, which was rounded at the lower end. The hood covered the head and shoulders, as is shown in our illustration (see "Hist. du Clergé seculier et regulier," tom. ii., p. 179. . Heyliot, etc., 1716).

In addition to the rule properly so called, the principal features of which we have pointed out, it yet remains to speak of the monastic and canonical¹ penitentials, which may be regarded as two appendices to the rule itself. Thus, the first includes such penance as should be made by monks for any failure of discipline, and the other the penance due from the secular brethren for any evil act of which they were guilty. The leading features of these two systems must now be pointed out, so that not only the severe discipline of the time may be understood, but also the ideal of monastic perfection by which these monks were inspired. The punishments for involuntary defects were slight. He who omitted his Amen at the end of the prayer before or after meals received six stripes. The same penalty was ordained for breaking silence in the refectory, for smiling during the office, or for touching the chalice with his teeth while receiving the wine, or celebrating without having washed the

¹ With regard to the canonical penitential, the principle was that of St. Augustine in his "Lib. de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus," cap. 54, "*penitentia vera est, penitenda non admittere, et admissa deferre.*"



Fig. 40.—MONK OF THE ORDER OF ST. COLUMBAN.

finger-nails. The priest or deacon whose eyes wandered during mass was punished in like manner.

Having ordained that each monk should carry holy oil to anoint the sick, the penalty for transgressing in this respect was severe; and if it were lost, even though if recovered, the culprit received fifty stripes. It appears that it was customary for the priest to carry about the eucharist with him, at least when going on a journey, but if it were lost on such occasions, the penalty was a year's banishment. Fifty stripes was the penalty of a disrespectful or angry answer to the superior. He who dared to act without orders was also beaten; and there were other separate penalties for those who, having finished one task assigned to them, did not immediately seek for another. Besides these rules, we may notice the following items. For a single case of intoxication the penalty was seven days' fasting on bread and water; for a repetition of this sin in secret, and for confirmed drunkenness, a fast of one year and three quarters was enjoined, and the duty of helping the poor in their labours, with abstinence from the holy communion for two years. He who forswore himself for fear of death should abstain from communion for seven years, part of which time he should spend in fasting on bread and water, part in abstaining from meat and wine, part in works of charity to his neighbours. He who perjured himself for self-interest was to sell all that he had and to give to the poor, and retire to a monastery, there to serve God till his death.

It was the desire of Columban that the brethren should as much as possible refrain from conversation or communication with seculars. He held it a duty on every occasion to preach wherever he thought it would bear fruit. He exhorted his brethren to hear confessions, to administer the eucharist, to visit, anoint, and bless the sick, to exercise hospitality whenever occasion required, to check vice with holy freedom, and not to associate with outsiders, save with caution, and he only allowed the most experienced in virtue, prudence, and knowledge to go into solitude. It appears that, at first, not only women, but laymen, were kept outside the precincts of the monastery. He caused places to be constructed for strangers, where they were lodged and treated with urbanity and kindness. He greatly loved poverty, not only desiring that his monks should not seek

possessions, but should even avoid them. He wished for poverty even in the church, and in the celebration of the mass. He allowed of no fine clothes or foreign embroideries, content if everything was fresh and clean and very simple. The holy vessels should be bright, but not made of precious metal. He was accustomed to say that poverty in all these utensils might convey to the minds of the monks a high ideal of the humility and the mercy of Jesus Christ, who had completed His own great sacrifice on the rough wood of the cross. We read that S. Gallus, his disciple, refused a chalice of silver which was offered to him with other gifts by Duke Gonzone, saying that he was not accustomed to use such with his master Columban.¹ Perfect cleanliness in all things was required, and he ordained that the monks should wash the linen that was used in the service. But while the monks received the communion in two kinds, the novices only communicated in the bread.

There were two *œconomi* (stewards) in each monastery, one greater, the other lesser. To the first, who was styled provost, was entrusted the care of all external affairs of the monastery, so that the abbot might devote himself to the care of souls; while the lesser *œconomus* looked after internal arrangements. Obedience is given a first place in the whole system, and the question, "What are the limits of obedience?" is answered, "Even unto death; for unto death Christ obeyed the Father for us." "*Obedientia autem usque ad quem modum definitur?*" "*Usque ad mortem certè precepta est; quia Christus usque ad mortem obedivit Patri pro nobis.*"²

"Columbanus," writes the Rev. George Maclear,³ "was far from teaching his brethren that the essence of piety consisted in externals. Again and again he reminds them that true religion consists not in humility of the body, but of the heart; and bids them consider these punctilious observances not as ends, but as means. He himself ever set them a worthy example. He united practical energy with a disposition for contemplation. It was his delight to penetrate into the deepest recesses of the forest, and

¹ See Dr. Moran, "Essays," etc., p. 176.

² Flem., "Coll. S. Columbani Reg. Cœnob.," cap. i., p. 4.

³ "Missionary Hist. of Middle Ages," p. 139.

there to read and meditate on the Scriptures, which he always carried with him. On Sundays and high festivals he abstracted himself yet more from outward things. Seeking a cave or some other secluded spot, he would devote himself entirely to prayer and meditation, and so prepare for celebrating the services of the day without distraction. If he demanded incessant self-denial of his followers, he himself fell not short of his own requirements. 'Whosoever overcomes himself,' he was wont to say, 'treads the world underfoot; no one who spares himself can truly hate the world. If Christ be in us, we cannot live to ourselves; if we have conquered ourselves, we have conquered all things; if the Creator of all things died for us while yet in our sins, ought not we to die to sin? Let us die unto ourselves. Let us live in Christ, that Christ may live in us.'

To the modern reader many of the details in this rule will appear puerile. This system, which ordains such severe penalties for the omission of a certain form, which treats a mere trick of memory or neglect of some personal habit as a serious fault, will always expose its author to the accusation that he is

"Witless of the size, the sum,
The value in proportion of all things,
Or whether it be little or be much,"¹

and modern writers have heaped the epithets puerile, extravagant, fanatical upon his work. We should remember that we are looking back to a time when Christian society was yet in its days of childhood; when the rod as the staff is required for strengthening and support; when the relative value of certain actions—as expressive of certain conditions of mind—differs from that in our own days as widely as the faults of a little child from those of maturity. Such incidents are but the necessary inconsequences and inconsistencies belonging to the first developments of that new law,

"The spiritual life around the earthly life."

The history of Columban's further work in Gaul cannot be entered on here, since the subject of this book must be more or less confined to the saint's career in Italy. The foundations of

¹ See "An Epistle of Karshish," Browning's Poems.

the monasteries of Luxeuil and of Fontaines, and the history of the dispute of St. Columban with the Gaulish bishops on the question of the celebration, must be postponed to a future work, in which the vestiges of the Irish saints in Gaul may be traced out. We must now pass on to the time when he carried his rule into Lombardy.

COLUMBAN GOES TO MILAN, A.D. 595 TO 598.

It is well known to all readers of Church history that at this period the Arian heresy was rapidly spreading through Europe. When first condemned at the Council of Nice, it still remained unconquered, and reappeared in various places and under different aspects. On more than one occasion in the sixth century, Milan was the theatre where it flourished, when the Lombards, who were strongly tainted by its errors, invaded Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Agilulph, King of the Lombards, who commenced his reign A.D. 590, was not long in embracing the Catholic religion, led to it principally by the influence of his consort, Theodelinda, so famous for her virtues and piety. He was also strongly impressed, as we shall see hereafter, by the work of Columban. Gregory the Great was elected to the popedom in the same year that Agilulph commenced his reign. When Gregory was in Constantinople, he had learned to know the deacon Constantius there, who became Bishop of Milan in 593, and whose faithful service is lauded in the epistles of the pontiff. Close relations existed between the bishop and Queen Theodelinda, who depended in a great measure upon him for counsel and support. It is most probable that this bishop, perceiving the inclinations of King Agilulph towards the Catholic faith, and feeling that some fresh external influence was all that was required to win him over as well as to crush out the last signs of Arianism in the kingdom, determined to invite to Milan Columban, whose learning and sanctity had given such an impetus to the faith in Gaul. Aware of the irritation that the saint had endured on the question of Easter, and also of Columban's constant desire for a meeting with himself, Constantius offered these considerations as inducements to visit him and to come to Milan, where God would open a new field for

his zeal and charity. Then Columban left the solitude so dear to him, and, placing his most experienced monks over his three monasteries, Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines, he took with him those best suited for his mission. Jonas has confused the two journeys taken by the saint into Italy, treating them as one, so that it is difficult to determine who were his companions on this first occasion. According to Baronius,¹ it appears certain that the famous Eustatius went with him, who afterwards became his successor in the monastery of Luxeuil, and who there preserved the memory of his master's labours.

Having reached Milan, Columban was welcomed by Constantius, Theodelinda, and King Agilulph, and at once attacked the Arians in the front—provoked them to discussion in public and in private, by word of mouth and in writing, till he reduced them to silence. The little that Jonas records of the labours of the saint in Italy is compressed into one not very lengthy chapter, nor does he allow himself to dilate upon the noble achievements of the saint in his war with this sect; neither is the period of his stay in Milan noted, but we may judge from the language of this biographer that it was not short: “Ibi Dei consultu actum est, dum ille penes *Mediolanum* urbem moraretur, et hæresis eorum fraudes, id est, *Arrianæ* perfidiæ scripturarum cauterio discernere ac disseccare vellet.” “It was brought about by the counsel of God that, whilst he remained at Milan, he should undertake to tear and cut away the deceits of their heresy, that is, of the Arian infidelity, by the cautery of Scripture,” and he adds that he published a book here of “fiorente sapere”—“contra quos etiam libellum florentis scientiæ edidit.”² This may be taken to signify that those writings in which he had attacked and defeated the defender of this heresy were worked up at Milan into a complete and formal treatise, which was then spread abroad and made known throughout Italy. If this be so, it is to be lamented that the work, which must have been of no little value, has not been preserved to our time.

The mission of Columban to Milan succeeded marvellously,

¹ Baron., “Ad Ann. ;” Gianelli, p. 57.

² Jonas, “Vit. S. Columb.,” cap. xxix.

and his preaching was crowned by the conversion of King Agilulph, who conceived so great esteem and affection for the saint that he expressed a strong desire to keep him in his kingdom. Finding that Columban longed to return to the life of a solitary in the desert, he allowed him to make choice of any place he wished for in his dominions, so that he did not leave Italy.¹ The anxiety of the king that the saint should remain in his dominions was so great that the rumour of it reached a certain person named Jocundus, who happened to arrive at the court of King Agilulph, and he, wishing to ingratiate himself with the monarch, gave Columban a description of the region round about Bobio. He represented it to him as a vast solitude among the gorges of the Apennines, where a basilica, dedicated to the apostle St. Peter, was still standing, in which he himself had witnessed certain miracles worked by God. Not² that this basilica was more than a half-ruined chapel when seen by Jocundus, situated in a country which was certainly solitary, even though a few scattered shepherds might still be living there. The lands around were fertile and well-watered by rivers abounding in fish, and he described the torrent, named Bobio, which at this place empties itself into the Trebbia, rendered famous by the battle of Hannibal with the Romans. The king offered this retreat to Columban, and the saint, disliking the noise of cities, accepted the grant from the king's liberality, because it was said to be a solitude and an agreeable situation.

From the lesson for the saint's day in the office of the church at Bobio, we might conclude that one reason for the saint's longing to retire into solitude was the bitter enmity he aroused by his attacks on Arianism :³ "Verbis et scriptis acerrime confutatis Arianis, eorum odium in se concitavit." "Having vehemently confuted the Arians in his speeches and writings, he kindled their hatred against him." The king, seeing his determination to leave Milan, made no further effort to restrain him,

¹ "Largitâ optione," says Jonas, "ut intra Italiam in quocumque loco voluisset, habitaret."—Jonas, "Vit. S. Columb.," cap. xxix.

² Rossetti, "Bobio illustrato."

³ Offic. eccl. Bob., die 23, 9bris., lect. vi.

and the saint lost no time, but hastened to leave the city and the court, parting from them as a man who leaves the field of battle for regions of peace and repose ; he went, not as one who seeks a temporary breathing space in solitude from the weariness by which he is assailed, but rather as one who retires to a permanent home. The king, willing to assist and further his plans in every way, granted him a diploma, in which he gave over to him the said basilica and four miles of the fertile territory around it, whether cultivated or uncultivated.

DIPLOMA OF AGILULPH.¹

“The most excellent King Flavius Agilulphus to the venerable Columbanus, or to his associates :

“We deem that we get a kindly return from Almighty God if the priests in our holy kingdom be enabled to fulfil their vows made in their holy ordination. Therefore, by our general order, we give to your holy fatherhood the basilica of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, situated at a place called Bobio, with permission in the name of God to live there and possess it and four miles round in every direction, either cultivated or uncultivated, except the half of the well which we conceded in a former time to Sondarit ; otherwise we grant all these territories which we have named above of the basilica of St. Peter, either to you or to those of yours who have been devoted to you, for a possession for all time ; for that purpose we charge all our generals, governors of castles, and our officers altogether, that none of them presume to act at variance at any time to the order of our letter. And you, as far as you are able, pray to God night and day for the safety and stability of our kingdom. Given at Mediolanum, in the palace, on the 9th August, in the eighth year of our most happy reign.

“I, Liunus, wrote this at the command of our lord the king, and of Agiderius, his secretary.”

The well mentioned in this remarkable document still exists. It is surrounded by a very ancient marble parapet, white veined with red and black, one half of which is within the precincts of

¹ A.D. 598.

the monastery, the ancient wall of which cuts the tank in two parts. The other half is in the street of the town, in the angle of the piazza of the chapel of the Confraternity of S. Lorenzo. It is the opinion of the monk Della Torre, the careful chronicler of the acts of this saint, that Columban must have spent three years in Milan before leaving for Bobio, as he reached Milan A.D. 595, and left that city A.D. 598. Yet he may have meant Milan and its district, intending to include those cities, such as Pavia, which were dependencies upon Milan; thus, in the office of the saint, already quoted, it is stated that Columban was first presented to the king at Pavia, "In Italiam ad Agilulphum Longobardorum regem Papiæ degentem profectus est," "He went into Italy to Agilulph, king of the Lombards, who dwelt at Pavia," and we know that this city was for many years the residence of the kings of Lombardy. A very ancient tradition exists that the saint taught the Christian faith in the Borgo of San Colombano in the diocese of Lodi, and had converted the inhabitants there from the idolatry in which their fathers were still plunged, and that therefore the inhabitants relinquished the ancient name of their town, Mombrione, desiring that it should be only known in future by that of the holy apostle and father.

The learned rector, Gallotta,¹ is our authority for this information, and he proves that this was the ancient title of the Borgo as well as of the castle, the date of which is unknown. He draws attention to the fact that the town was situated on the road from Milan to Piacenza, and Columban thus came to stop there on his journey to Bobio.

He observes that this district was not then, as it is now, easy of passage, but was covered with wild oak, so that solitary, and thickly wooded, its recesses afforded convenient shelters and hiding-places, where the inhabitants might continue to exercise their pagan rites, and worship their false gods, in spite of the imperial edicts which had been issued proscribing such worship. All these circumstances tended to inflame the ardour of Columbanus, and draw him from Pavia and Milan, where such mission work was no longer required. Certainly the tradition remains that the saint journeyed to

¹ Gallotta, "Ann. e MSS.," No. 33.

Bobio by Piacenza, from which town he could easily reach this Borgo of Mombrione, afterwards S. Columbano, and encourage his monks to promulgate the faith among its inhabitants.

COLUMBAN RESTORES THE BASILICA AND BUILDS THE MONASTERY OF BOBIO.

When Columban, now in his fifty-sixth year, had arrived at his new station and beheld the half-ruined basilica there, he at once set himself to rebuild it, and soon restored it to its original condition. But the church alone did not suffice for his ambition, he required a monastery also, and in a short time he had accomplished the erection of this new building,¹ having, it is said, received great assistance in all these labours from Queen Theodelinda. Jonas relates that, while Columban and his monks were cutting down the pine-trees among the thick forests and precipices, and trying to carry them across the almost inaccessible gorges of the Apennines, they came to a place where it seemed impossible to proceed. They had no carts or other means of conveyance, nor had they any labourers trained for such work. Then Columban, with two or three of his own monks, lifted these trees and carried them down to the plain with as much ease as if they had been light and hollow; and yet it is said that in one instance they had to move a trunk of such a size that it required thirty or forty men to carry it down to the plain, yet he with two or three companions, when the road allowed of it, took these logs on their shoulders and went lightly along. Whereupon, says the story, recognising in this the divine assistance, he encouraged his monks to continue the building, and established the hearts of his followers in the love of that desert to which it had pleased God to call him.

Another tale told of him is that, when transporting a large log by means of two bullocks, a ferocious bear rushed out of the wood who killed one of the oxen under the eye of the driver. At the cries of this man Columban hastened forward, and making the sign of the cross, he commanded the wild beast

¹ Massimo da Siregno, "Vita di S. Colombano," cap. 40.



Fig. 41.--VIEW OF HOBIO.

that he should place his head beneath the yoke in the room of the bullock which he had killed. The bear obeyed, and not only on this occasion did he submit to the yoke like a domestic animal, but continued to do so for the rest of his life.

According to a charter dated in the ninth year of the pontificate of St. Gregory, which corresponds to the year 599 of our era, Columban, having then spent two years at Bobio, travelled to Rome, that he might place his monastery under the special protection of the Holy See, and secure for it all the benefits that should accrue from such a step. The historian, Ughelli, saw this charter in the monastery of Bobio, and communicated his discovery to the Abbot Constantine, quoting the whole passage without any doubt as to its authenticity.¹ The journey is described in the following words:—



Fig. 42.—HYDRIA.

When the holy abbot had finished the erection of his monastery, he resolved to start for Rome that he might visit the sanctuaries of the apostles, and confer with the supreme pontiff, Gregory the Great. "As he approached the spiritual city, all the bells in Rome rang forth, without being moved with human hands. The people of Rome, terrified by reason of this, hastened to the Pope to inquire what this thing might mean. He, filled with the Holy Spirit, made answer, 'A saint is now drawing near, in whose honour this miracle is worked.'

"When Columban arrived, he was honourably received by the said Pope, and by his clergy and the people of Rome. One day, as he lay prostrate in the church, St. Gregory, seeing him

¹ Ughelli, "Italia sacra, abbat. Bob.," pag. 1018.

there, praised God in his heart for that He had given such great power to so small a being, but the Holy Spirit revealed his thought to the blessed Columban, who, rising from his prayer, spoke to him, saying, 'Brother, he who depreciates the work depreciates the author.' At these words the blessed Gregory would have fallen at his feet, but the saint forbade him. Then he saluted him with many kisses, and dwelling in the same house for some days they enjoyed being thus together. It was then that the blessed Columban placed Bobio under the patronage of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the apostolic man gave to him one of the six *hydriæ* full of the relics of saints" (figs. 42 and 51).

Among the fifteen witnesses whose names are appended to this charter, five are Irish and four correspond to the names already given of the companions who started with Columban from the monastery of Bangor: Attalus, Cummian, Dogmal, Eunan, Maeldorus. Then Gianelli relates how, according to the history of Jonas, the holy abbot returned to Bobio with his treasure, and accompanied by not less than eleven of his monks, among whom the most renowned names are those of Cominus [Cummian] monachus, Bobulenus monachus et sacerdos, Domitialis [Dogmal] humilis diac., scotto et monachus. Eleven signed, and three witnessed the document.

When Columbanus had returned from Rome to Bobio, he finished the building of his church and monastery, and then resolved to appoint a prior to take the direction during his absence, that he might return into Gaul. Of his further experiences in that country we may quote the following account given by Dr. G. Stokes: "Brunehault ruled Burgundy as regent for the young king Thierry, her grandson. To preserve her own power, and to prevent a rival standing near the throne, she for a time successfully encouraged him in the utmost licentiousness. Thierry at last chose a lawful wife from a Visigothic house, but Brunehault so worked upon him that at the end of twelve months he repudiated his wife, and Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, who had arranged the match, was murdered by the agents of the queen-mother. One day, when St. Columban arrived at the court of Thierry, Brunehault presented to Columban the four natural sons of the king. 'What would these children with me?' said the uncourtly monk. 'They are the sons of the

king,' said the queen-regent ; ' I present them to you ; strengthen them by thy blessing.' The saint refused. Speaking after the manner of a prophet, he said, ' Know, it never will happen that these will reign ; they are the offspring of dishonesty.' From that moment, Brunehault vowed war to the death against Columban. His monastery was besieged ; he was himself arrested, and confined at Besançon, whence he soon escaped to Luxeuil. Thither Brunehault and Thierry sent an officer and soldiers to drive the man of God out of the monastery. He was seated in the porch of his church, and he continued reading his book. More than once they approached him and passed him close by, and even trod upon his feet and touched his garments, but they were struck blind for the time and did not see him. They returned to the king without having done anything, and then the impatient Brunehault sent Count Bertarius and the above-named Baudulfus. When these two magnates reached the monastery they found the saint in the basilica, praying and singing the psalms, surrounded by his monks. ' Man of God,' they said, ' we pray you to obey our commands, which are those of the king, in whose name we desire you to leave this monastery and return to your native land.' ' No,' answered the holy abbot, ' I shall not obey, because I do not think it would be pleasing to God that I should return to a country that I have already left for Christ's sake.'"

COLUMBAN AT NANTES.

Bertarius seeing that the servant of the Lord would not give ear to their exhortations, and afraid of calling forth the divine vengeance, deemed it expedient to go away, leaving the capture of the saints to be accomplished by the fiercest spirits among his soldiery. The saint was then arrested. He bade a final adieu to his beloved Luxeuil, and was conducted to Nantes, where he was placed on board a ship bound for Ireland, but the ship encountered a storm immediately after sailing, and was driven back upon the sands at the mouth of the Loire, and Columban with his Irish companions was again landed on the coast of France.

During the days that Columban spent at Nantes waiting for

the vessel in which he was to embark for Ireland, he wrote a most tender letter to his monks. This epistle is as full of affection as it is of piety; he urges on them constancy, patience, zeal, and every virtue of a religious soul, but, above all, humility and unity one with another. He confirms his words with passages of Scripture, and it is in this letter that the holy spirit of our saint is perhaps most fully revealed. We learn from it that he had left Attalus as their prior, leaving himself open to return to them, adding that in the event of his being obliged to remain away, they were to substitute Waldolinus. At the close of his letter he adds, that if Attalus does not succeed in governing them, they should all unite and elect a governor by a majority of votes, "but," he adds, "provisionally, because if I remain in freedom, and God wills it to be so, I myself will give thought for you."

From these words we may see that he had a presentiment that he should not go to Ireland, and he had expressed this shortly before. "At the time at which I write," he says, "it happens that I am informed the ship approaches on which against my will I must be carried to my own country, although if I should seek to fly there is no watch upon me to prevent it, and it comes to my mind that I may take flight. If I, like Jonah, be thrown into the sea (and his name in Hebrew signifies Columba), I pray that instead of a whale some boatman may rescue me, and that with happy rowing your Jonah, carefully disguised, may be restored to his longed-for threshold. But perhaps my wishes are delusive; be it according to God's will in all and through all; my desire is well known to Him. Examine your own minds if you are holier and purer in my absence, for then I warn you desire me not, seek me not for love's sake, but for necessity. . . . I love unity. I do not seek to cause divisions. Thus saith the Lord, 'He that gathereth not with me, scattereth.'" The writer goes on to lament that he cannot say all that he would in this letter, since the parchment is filled. He foretells their increase to thousands of thousands, and concludes with these most tender words: "Pray for me, my beloved, that I may live alone for God."¹

¹ This letter is given in full by Fleming, "Coll.," p. 131.

COLUMBANUS TAKES REFUGE IN NORMANDY.

After the saint was set ashore by the Irish sailors at some little distance from Nantes, he journeyed into Normandy, where he remained a short time at Soissons with Clothair, the second son of Chilperic, then king in Normandy and Neustria. A dispute had arisen between his nephews, the two brothers Theodebert and Theodoric, on the right of possession of some borderlands between their respective kingdoms, and just then ambassadors arrived from both these kings, who sought the assistance of Clothair. He consulted Columban, who advised him to remain neutral, since both kings were his nephews. He then added a prophecy that the kings would only continue in power for three years, and after that he, like his forefather Clothair I., would reign alone in Gaul. The king, believing the prophecy, took the saint's advice, and refused to interfere. He then strove to persuade Columban to remain at his court, but the saint was eager to continue his journey, wishing to visit King Theodebert. On his way he passed through Paris, where he healed one possessed of the devil, and he reached Meaux, capital of the Meldesi, on the river Marne, where he was honourably received by Agneric, a wise man, the counsellor and friend of Theodebert. He blessed his little daughter Borgondofora, or Fara, who was destined afterwards to become one of the most famous saints of Gaul. Her brother Cagnoald was so impressed by Columban that he followed him into Germany, whence the saint sent him to Luxeuil, and he finally became Bishop of Laon.

Leaving Meaux and passing through Poynsi, two miles distant, he journeyed along the course of the Marne to Eussy, where he stopped with a noble count, Autharius, whose twin sons Ado and Dado were blessed by the saint, and who afterwards devoted themselves to a holy life—the one founding the monastery of Brie, in the Jura mountains, while the other founded the nunnery of Jouarre. Then Columban arrived at Metz, the capital of Austrasia, the residence of Theodebert, who greeted him lovingly, but here the saint received tidings of great sorrow. His beloved followers, the monks that he left at Luxeuil, had abandoned his monastery there, driven out by the cruel persecutions of



Fig. 43.—NUN OF THE ORDER OF ST. COLUMBAN.

Brunchilde and Theodoric. Theodebert strove to persuade Columban to remain in his kingdom, and represented to him that there were still many districts around where the people were wholly given to idolatry, whom he might yet win over to the Gospel, so that the saint, notwithstanding his longing to pass on into Italy, debated as to what he should do. He took with him a guide and passport to the king, and travelled to Maintz. There he was hospitably received by Leonisius, bishop of that town, who gave him and his monks provisions for their voyage up the Rhine, which river they navigated till they reached the mouth of the Aar. In the words of Dr. G. Stokes, "They embarked upon that river, and traversed a large part of the beautiful defile between Maintz and Bingen which has made the name of the Rhine famous. It must have been very hard work pulling against that stream. Those who have not seen it, or better, tried to swim against it, have no idea of the force and power wherewith the river rushes from the tableland of Switzerland to the sands of the Dutch coast. . . . They descend the stream from Bingen by Maintz, but what must have been the exertions used by S. Columbanus and his companions, as they slowly battled their way in their coracles all up the defile of the Rhine, and then along through the calmer waters between Heidelberg and Strasbourg, and thence by Bâle and Schaffhausen, and the falls of the Rhine." From the mouth of the Aar, they proceeded to the Lake of Zurich, and wandering about its shores they found a solitary place at Zug, where God directed them to remain for some little time. According to Jonas, the inhabitants of the country round were Suevi. They were no less superstitious than wild, and entirely given over to idolatry. Here then Columban preached the true God and the Gospel for some time, and the Lord confirmed his preaching with miracles.

On one occasion the saint arrived at a place where he found a great assembly of the people preparing a solemn sacrifice. They were grouped around a huge vase, capable of containing twenty hogsheads; this was filled with beer. He called out to them, asking what they were about to do with this vase, and they answered they would sacrifice it to their God Woden. The saint, horrified at these words, and leaning over the edge of the huge vat, blew into it with his breath, when immediately it

burst with a tremendous crash, and miraculously flew into a thousand pieces, while the liquor streamed all over the ground. The barbarians stood in stupefaction around, unable to comprehend how the breath of one man could be so powerful as to break a vessel so strongly bound ; but after he had announced his Gospel message, and proved their errors to them, he commanded that they should for ever abandon their sacrilegious practices and return to their homes.¹ Many among them, in consequence of the exhortation and teaching of the saint, embraced the faith of Jesus Christ, and accepted the grace of baptism. There were others among them who were at first baptized, but who afterwards fell away into error and depravity. The good pastor occupied himself with these, and by his preaching recalled them to the Catholic religion, and reconciled them to the Church.

Affairs being so well disposed, S. Gallus, who had been the faithful follower of S. Columban, either commissioned by him, or inspired by God, one day seized all the idols that were left. Some he threw into the river, others into the flames, and he burned their temples. This deed greatly irritated the remaining idolaters, and they took council together and conspired to kill Gallus, to scourge Columban, and drive him away with all his monks. The saint and his followers appear to have been warned of God in time. They left the country, and returned to Lake Constance, settling down at Arbona.

Columban was greeted on his arrival by Wallimar, a pious and virtuous priest, with whom he remained for eight days. From him he heard of a vast solitude amongst the mountains at no great distance, so he borrowed a little boat from Wallimar, and set off with his monks to seek it. At Bregenz he found a little temple dedicated to S. Aurelia. Finding the place suitable for their dwelling, he and his monks built their cells around it, and thus they founded another small monastery. The people here who had in former days been converted had fallen back into idolatry, and had put up three false gods of gilded copper in the oratory of S. Aurelia, whom they adored as the tutelary

¹ This miracle is represented in fresco on the chancel walls of S. Colombano in Bobio.

gods of the country. S. Gallus, who was most proficient in their language, was desired by Columban to preach to them the Gospel of Jesus Christ; the people listened with attention and many were converted. Columban seized their idols and threw them into the lake; he sprinkled the little church with holy water, and with his disciples walked round it in procession, singing psalms. They placed the relics of S. Aurelia beneath the altar, and celebrated the holy mass.¹ The people made great rejoicings, and each one returned to his own habitation determined henceforth to adore only the true God.

During his stay at Bregenz Columban thought of passing on to Venice, where at that time the Schiavoni, who came there, brought from the banks of the Danube, were given over to idolatry. But he was warned by an angel that these people were not disposed to profit by his preaching, and he renounced the project and remained in the neighbourhood of Bregenz for nearly three years, during which time he laboured incessantly for the salvation of souls, and converted many to the true faith, so that several modern writers have been found who attributed the early civilization and conversion of Germany to him.²

In consequence of another rising among the heathen, who sought assistance from Gonzone, duke of that district, Columban resolved once more to continue his journey into Italy, where, according to Padre Della Torre and many other authorities (who maintain that he made two distinct journeys into Italy), his beloved disciples were in Bobio calling him back to them. But he did not take all his monks with him on this occasion. S. Gallus was seized with a fever, and Columban had to confide him to the care of his good priest Wallimar, who stayed behind with some of the other monks. S. Gallus was restored to health, and founded a celebrated monastery in the neighbourhood of Bregenz, at a short distance from that of his master Columban.

¹ Jonas, "Vitam S. Colombani," cap. xxvi.

² Pletz, "Oration delivered in Vienna, 1829"; Gallotta, "Ann.," 36; Gianelli, p. 108.

COLUMBAN RETURNS TO ITALY.

If our saint met with a kindly welcome on the occasion of his first visit to Italy, his second reception at Milan was a kind of triumphal homage to one who had proved himself the champion and defender of the faith. It was now that he wrote his second letter to Pope Boniface IV., and though the place at which it was written is not mentioned therein, it is believed to have been despatched either from Milan or Pavia by the request of King Agilulph.

"This valuable relic of antiquity," writes the Rev. Robert King, "is undoubtedly one of the most important records in existence connected with the circumstances of the Irish Church at the time when it was written, or we might perhaps say, with those of any period of its early history. The letter opens with an address to Boniface, and then he anticipates the objections that are sure to arise to any such letter being written by such as himself, and makes apology for his interference. He explains that his only motive is a godly zeal for the truth, therefore he will use freedom of speech as an earnest friend of the Church. He then proceeds to show that the Irish, though dwellers at the very end of the earth, are ardent followers of the truth, no Jew, or heretic, or schismatic, having ever appeared among them. He urges the pope to active exertion, in consideration of the alarming prevalence of heresy in Italy, and then he reminds him that the true foundation for claims to apostolic honour lies in apostolic faithfulness, and that pastors are responsible to God for vigilance in the care of Christ's flock. He reminds him of the warnings of Scripture, believing that his neglect of his primatial duties is likely to be a source of much damage to the Church, and contrasts the apathy that prevails among the Christians of Italy with the fervour of religious zeal in Ireland. He then urges Boniface to invoke a synod for the settlement of the existing controversies, and to clear the see of Rome from suspicion of countenancing heresy. And he rebukes Boniface for taking so little pains to clear his own character from such associations. Columban then begs him to excuse 'the freedom of speech which accords with the usage of my country.' He

utterly condemns the decisions of the fifth general council, and says that he has been warned against Pope Boniface as having lapsed into the sect of Nestorius. He then explains that he has written this letter in compliance with the urgent injunction of King Agilulph."



Fig. 44.—OLD GATEWAY OF TOWN OF BOBIO.

RETURNS TO THE MONASTERY AT BOBIO.

Wearied with this long struggle against heresy, the holy abbot grew more and more impatient to return to his beloved monastery at Bobio, and having done all that he could for the quickening of religious zeal and Christian piety in Milan and Pavia, he bid a last farewell to King Agilulph, Queen Theodelinda, and the Archbishop. On his way to Bobio he revisited the people of Mombrione [S. Columbano], who well knew that

it was he who drew them out of darkness to the light of the Gospel of Christ. He saw and confirmed them in the faith, and then hastened on to his mountain solitudes.

To the north-east of Bobio, towards the summit of the mountain, a cave is to be seen in a precipitous rock, at the distance of some miles from the high road, close to the confines of the duchy of Parma. The place is called La Spanna, and derives its name from a natural rock which is a terminal or boundary stone dividing the two states, on which may be seen a hollow that has taken the form of an open hand; the wrist appears to be sustained by an object not unlike the form of a rude chalice. The tradition still exists in the country, that this is the mark of the hand of St. Columban miraculously impressed or stamped upon the stone. Although such traditions are common all over the world, we need not doubt that the cave here was used by the saint for retirement and solitude. A similar stone-marking may be seen in a rock of ferruginous colour in the bed of the Trebbia. The cave is turned to the south, and therefore faces Bobio, and the torrent called Rio Fontana runs at the foot of the mountain. All around there is an oak wood, even at the present day interspersed with juniper, sumac, and the Judas tree, and we read that in the days of Columban also this place was thickly wooded. The grotto must be approached with care, being high on the face of the cliff. Again, to the south-west of Bobio, there is another cave of grander dimensions, and to these two grottoes Columban was in the habit of retiring. Close to the last-mentioned one, he built a little chapel, which he dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Another was added in after years at some little distance, with the same dedication. According to tradition, the saint used to walk there by the road which passes the little church of S. Salvador, and from whence he ascended the mountain. This difficult climb took him three hours, and he now suffered great martyrdom from age and weak health. A few years ago another stone was to be seen here, marked with the impress of his right foot, and a certain shepherd was severely punished for having thrown this down the precipice into the river below. It is said that near this place a rare and delicate flower grew on the footsteps of Columban from the heart of the rocks which

he so constantly travelled over. Mabillon, in his account of the miracles of St. Columban, tells this pretty story in the following words :—

“ Since we begin to speak, most beloved, of the construction of the cave, I should like to insert something as to the virtues of Columbanus through which the place is still distinguished. For the (*Pis*) pea, a vegetable which the country people call *Herbilta*, springs up every year since the time of his arrival, spontaneously among the rocks through which he walked, though no man sow, and (what seems to us a greater marvel) is found in the fissures of the stones where there is no moisture. It does not, however, grow in the same way every year. For in many places where it has sprung this year, it will not be found the next. But in this we believe there is the virtue of our Lord, for He works daily by His servant. For if it was produced every year in the same place, perhaps many would think that it was not the virtue of the saint, but came from its seed where it fell, and arose thence. But the custom is that the guardian of the cave marks the place where it appears, and when it arrives at maturity he gathers it carefully and sends it to the abbot. Then it is the custom of the abbot to send it to kings or princes with the blessing of St. Columban.”¹

It happened at this time that King Clothair II. earnestly desired that Columbanus should return to his court. Therefore he commissioned the Abbot Eustatius, who was now Abbot of Luxeuil, to travel into Italy, and recall the saint from Bobio, engaging to defray all the expenses of his journey from the public treasury. Eustatius undertook the task, and when he reached the little monastery in the Apennines, where he found his old master again, the two friends fell upon one another's necks in a loving embrace. Columban kept Eustatius for some time at his side, giving him advice regarding the discipline of his monastery and the government of his brethren ; but when Eustatius pressed upon him the request of the king that he would return to France, Columbanus made answer : “ I am now much too old, too sick, and too broken to return to France, and nothing shall persuade me to attempt it. Meanwhile, if his royal heart be moved with such goodwill towards us,

¹ “ Mirac. S. Columb. A. SS. O. S. B.,” ed. Mabillon, vol. ii., 40-43.

let me pray him to turn it towards my dear monks who live at Luxeuil."

The recommendations of Columban with regard to this monastery were not in vain. The king enriched it with gifts and privileges. Its rents were increased and its confines were enlarged, and he was never weary of conferring benefits upon the monks under Eustatius, because of the great love he felt for their founder Columban.

THE DEATH OF COLUMBAN.

The life of the saint was now approaching its termination. We may perceive symptoms of this in a letter written in verse to his friend Fedolius, in which it is clear, however, that though his bodily strength is failing, his mind is vigorous as ever. The letter is full of poetry and spiritual feeling, even though he says it was written when he was suffering under the bitterest sorrows. In this letter he tells us that he had reached the years of his eighteenth Olympiad, which would mean that he was now seventy-six years of age, at least, if we estimate the Olympiads according to the common calculation. Worn out as he was, but older in merits than in years, Columban went to his retreat at the oratory of San Michele, and there he passed away from the embraces and tears of his beloved monks to his eternal rest on the 21st of November in the year 615.

It appears that before Columban had left his friend Gallus at Bregenz, a coldness had sprung up between the two friends, because of the disinclination expressed by Gallus to follow his master across the Alps into Italy. In after years Columban is said to have regretted his severe judgment, and always resolved to bequeath his miracle-working crosier to Gallus as a token of his love and an act of atonement. The story is told in the life of S. Magnus, to whom Columban addressed the following words on the eve of his departure from Switzerland¹: "I tell thee, Magnold, that which I wish thee to do and how thou oughtest to remain with Gallus. In a few days it will happen that thou

¹ "Vita S. Magni," Sept. 6th.—"AA. SS.," tom. ii., p. 739, § 15, C.

shalt receive the office of deacon from the bishop of Constance, so then I wish thou shouldest remain with Gallus until the time comes for me to depart this life, and if the Holy Spirit should reveal to you the fact of my illness, it would then be pleasing to me that thou shouldest come to my side; but in the event of my death in whatsoever manner it may take place, and if God grant that it may be revealed to thee, then hasten with all speed to my tomb and to my brethren, and thence thou shalt receive my letter and my crosier, which bring to Gallus, that thou mayest assure him that he is not condemned by me.

“Moreover, I tell thee that when Gallus is dead, after the space of three years his tomb will be plundered by thieves, whilst thou and Theodorus are looking on; and when this has passed, and his tomb has been repaired, hasten quickly to the place where, as we have heard, the holy Bishop Narcissus commanded the devil to destroy the dragon. There, with the help of the Lord, thou shalt convert many to the faith, thou shalt have gained their souls for the Lord, and shalt have a name given thee by God, and thou shalt be called Magnus by the people of that land, on account of the faith which thou shalt preach, turning them from emptiness and the worship of demons to the faith of Christ.”¹

Now it happened on a certain day, after some time had elapsed, while they were betaking themselves to their couches to rest after the fatigue of the matutinal office at first dawning of the day, Gallus, the man of God, called Magnus his deacon, saying to him: “Prepare for the administration of the sacred offering, so that I may be able to celebrate the holy mysteries without delay;” and Magnus said, “Wilt thou, indeed, celebrate the Mass, father?” and Gallus answered him, “During the watches of the night I have learned through a dream that my lord and father Columbanus has this day passed from the troubles of this life to the joys of Paradise. I must therefore offer the sacrifice of salvation for his repose.”²

Having knocked at the signpost at the entrance of the oratory, and prostrated themselves in prayer, they began to

¹ “Vita S. Magni,” p. 742, § 25, E.—“AA. SS. Boll.,” Sept. 6.

² *Ib.*, p. 742, §§ 26 to 28.

say Mass, praying incessantly for the memory of the blessed Columban. At the end of this holy office, the venerable Gallus thus addressed the deacon Magnus: "My son, let not the greatness of my petition appear a heavy matter to thee, but take thy road and repair to Italy, and proceeding through that country as far as the monastery which is called Bobium, inquire carefully as to what has been done concerning my abbot. Mark therefore the day and the hour, so that if thou shalt find that he is dead, thou mayest be able to discover whether my dream was true and whether it is confirmed by the result. Learning then all these things by earnest inquiry, thou shalt return and relate them to me."

The deacon, throwing himself at his master's feet, complained of this journey through a land which was unknown to him; but the blessed man with a soft voice admonished him not to fear, saying, "Go, and the Lord will direct thy footsteps."

Strengthened by the encouraging and consoling word of his holy master, the pupil obeyed his voice, and having received the viaticum of benediction, he hastened to set forth on his way, remembering the prophecy of the blessed Columban, who declared that he should come to his tomb in Italy and take his staff, and by it absolve the holy Gallus.

When he arrived at the monastery which he sought, he found everything had happened according as it had been revealed to his father in the vision. He remained one night with the brethren, who gave him a letter for the blessed Gallus, containing an account of the passage of the revered Columban. They sent also by the hand of the deacon his crosier, commonly called *Cambutta*, seeing that the holy abbot before his death had declared that through means of this well-known pledge Gallus should be absolved. Magnus, having been dismissed by the monks, hastened on his journey, which he made successfully, and arrived on the eighth day. He went at once to the lord and father, bearing the epistle of the narrative, and the staff, the token of absolution. Having read the letter, the holy Gallus, retaining in his full heart the love of his dear father, shed many tears, and disclosed to the assembled fathers the causes of his woe; then they celebrated the memory of the father with prayer and oblations.

The memory of St. Columban is preserved in the following old Irish calendars :—

“November 21. c. undecimo Kal. Decembris. Columban, abbot, who was in Italy (‘Martyrology of Donegal,’ p. 315).”

Mention is made of St. Columban in the metrical Martyrology of Marianus O’Gorman. It is at November 21 :—

“Rufus, Maria, Maurus
Columban nocaraimm
(‘Columban whom I love’).”

Over Columban is the note, “Abb robhúi is in Ettáil,” An abbot who was in (the) Italy.

LETTERS FROM PIACENZA.

Albergo Croce Bianco,
Piacenza.

Sept. 30, 1889.

DEAR E.,

YOU will be glad to hear I have arrived safely here. I reached this city on Sunday evening. Was glad enough to go to rest in a clean, old-fashioned Italian hotel, with brick floors and finely decorated ceilings. Next morning I engaged a nice old man as a guide, and set off on foot to see the town, which interests me immensely. Though on the way to Brindisi and Bologna, no tourist thinks of stopping here, so there is a delightful absence of the English element. The city is full of interest, yet behind-hand in many ways; there is no Accademia delle belle Arti, not even a photograph to be had of the fine frescoes in their churches.

The architecture of these churches is very interesting. The duomo, commenced in 1133, is Lombardic. Its porches are very wonderful, projecting boldly so as to cause broad masses of shadow on the front of the building; the pillars on which their arches rest rise from the backs of recumbent lions, or queer old men, riding on griffin's wings. The signs of the zodiac are carved on the front of the arches, with the sun and moon, stars, planets and comets, and winds. Inside, the choir and double transept, with their massive Lombardic columns, are very striking, and there is a series of very quaint little bas-reliefs inserted one at a time in each of these pillars, representing the different crafts: a wheelwright, a smith, a

carpenter, a potter making dear little vessels all neatly set out upon shelves, and two figures, apparently in a clothier's shop, one of whom has a bale unrolled, and is cutting the stuff with huge scissors, while rolls of cloth are visible on the shelf behind. There is a very humorous one of a priest, grinning as he lifts his vestments out of a huge washtub. Miss Porter has not yet arrived, but I expect her to-morrow.

Piacenza,

Oct. 1st, 1889.

DEAR H.,

I have just returned from the Church of S. Maria della Campagna, near the gate towards Alessandria, where I have seen such a beautiful fresco by Il Pordenone. I had not realised before what a genius he was; the subject is St. Catherine of Alexandria preaching to the doctors. A group of learned doctors surround her, grand figures; some sceptical, some deeply impressed. The artist himself is represented as one of the doctors, who, crouching on the ground over a great book at her feet, seems to be following her texts; the scene is in the portico of a temple, on the upper step of which she stands, facing you from the centre of the picture. A pure young girl, her figure lithe, elastic; her drapery swelling in grand folds, as if filled by some soft wind, falls from her beautiful arm, thrown up as her finger points to heaven, while she looks straight before her with a tender, innocent, but absolutely absorbed expression of the purest possible love. I am haunted by this face; you feel that she is indeed teaching Christ to the wise and learned men to whom this one thing has yet been wanting. I think she is more beautiful, fervent, and inspired than Raphael's St. Cecilia.

I tried to get you a photograph of this fresco, but in vain; the photographers have considered it a hopeless task, as the

fresco is in such a dark corner of the church. Imagine my delight, when, after making three attempts, I succeeded in getting a tolerable negative. A nice old photographer here, Sidoli by name, developed it for me, and would not let me pay him for this. I could not unpack my own chemicals till I got to Bobio. I exposed the plate for five minutes, but it is very troublesome work trying to photograph frescoes, they are so much above the camera, and some railing or altar decorations are sure to be at the foot.

In this case I had to raise the camera on three chairs, mounting myself on a fourth. Two kindly Franciscan monks watched my proceedings with evident delight, and seemed most eager to help.

I am surprised to find how empty the churches are here, although in old times this city went by the name of Piacenza la fedele, but certainly no place ever deserved its name, Placentia, Plaisance, better than this town. The whole atmosphere of the place, the colour of the buildings, the look of the people, the life of industry, without fuss or excitement, is all *pleasant* to the full.

We have grand views of the Apennines from here. To the west, in the direction in which Bobio lies, there is a magnificent view, range upon range of purple mountains. I can quite imagine old Columban gazing at them with longing eyes all the years he was fighting the Arians, and at last seeking his refuge and place of rest among them. I went out to the Porta Raimondi yesterday evening to watch the sunset. The colour was most glorious. The sun went down just where the mountains slope to the plain, as our Dublin hills slope to Kildare in the west—"a view that," as a friend who had seen many foreign lands and skies once said to me, "has something in it dreamy and attractive beyond anything he recollected elsewhere." The citadel of Placentia is at this gate; close by there is a building

which must be some large school for the soldiers' boys, for just as the sun went down I heard an exquisite vesper hymn or litany sung by a chorus of children's voices, coming from the upper windows. You have no idea how sweet and solemn the effect was. Miss Porter arrived here last evening at eight o'clock; we start to-morrow for Bobio. I gave you a wrong address, I fear; you should write to Albergo Bianco Leone, Bobio, Provincia di Pavia.

Bobio.

DEAR W.,

We left Piacenza yesterday at two o'clock. A steam tram brought us on our journey as far as Rovignano, through acacias and vines and mulberry trees, and fields lilac with autumn crocuses, called by the Irish "naked ladies," because they have no leaves. At the end of two hours we left the tram, and drove in a diligence the rest of the way, not reaching Bobio till half-past eight in the evening. I sat on the coach-box the whole way. We passed through very fine mountain scenery, and, to my mind, the Apennines take far more beautiful colouring than the Alps, and the afternoon and the evening sun threw them into grand masses of shade and colour. The glowing crimson sunset was succeeded by the moon, which we saw slowly rising in the east over the mountains behind us, with the stars all coming out one by one. Many of the hills were crowned with mediæval castles; the driver pointed out to me Castello Roveride, Castello dei Vulpi, Monte Chiaro, which belongs to the Marchese Casale, till we reached one very beautifully situated village, named Trao. This town has two bell-towers. It was market day at Rivezzano, and we passed crowds of peasants with baskets, laden with many-coloured fruits and vegetables, and long waggons with round

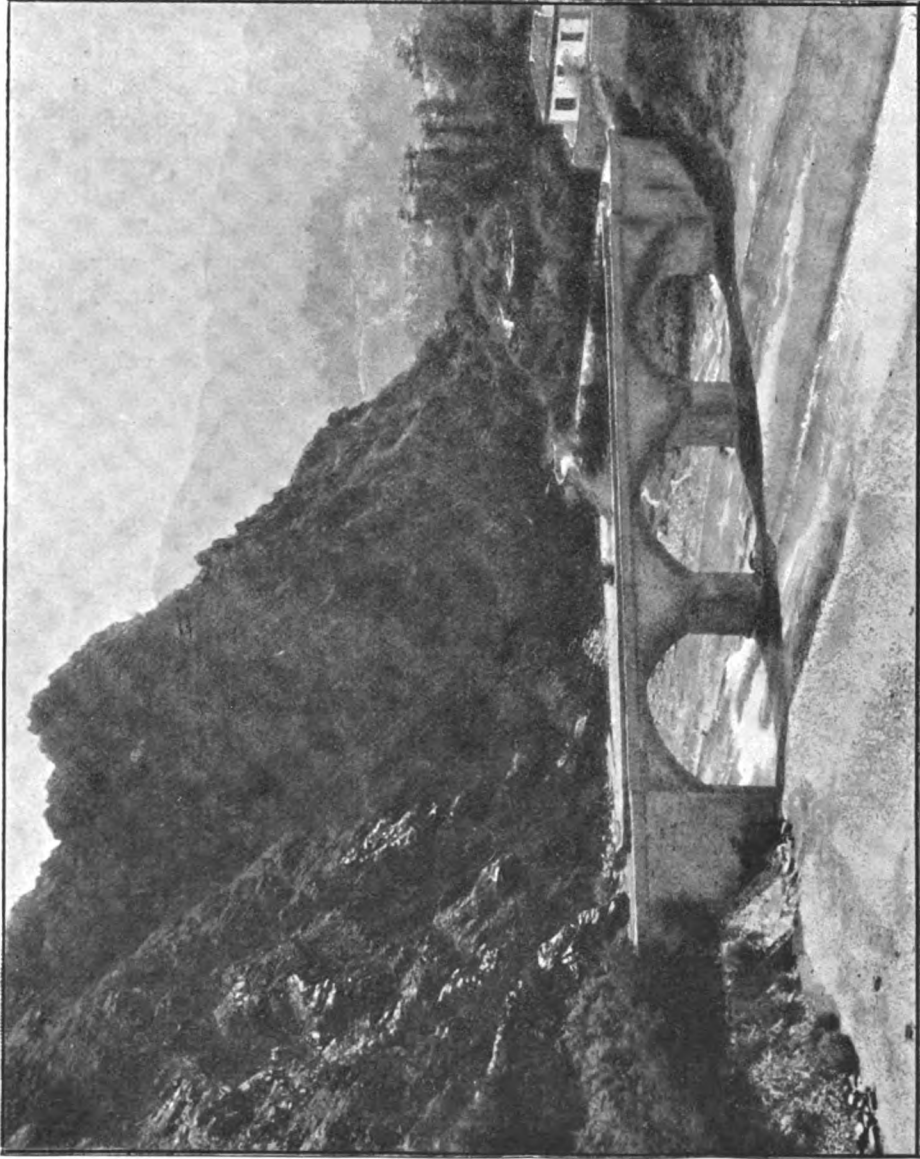


Fig. 45.—ENTRANCE TO VALLEY OF BOBIO BY PONTE BARRARINO.

roofs made of matting. I noticed a girl with such beautiful Titian hair. We crossed the torrent of Genore where it joins the Trebbia, the huge stones in its wide bed showing the force of the torrent here, and then we came to another torrent, Alperino, which also empties itself into the Trebbia. I was greatly struck with the number of wayside fountains on this road. We kept along the bed of the Trebbia the whole way. In some places it is wonderfully wide, so that in flood-time it must be fully the width of the Shannon, though now it is quite a little thing like the Dodder. As we descended the valley at the head of which Bobio lies, the river looked very beautiful, tortuous as a serpent, its waters shining like silver in the moonlight, and its banks lined with long rows of tall poplars. We saw the church towers of its two Lombardic buildings in the distance, that of the cathedral and that of the church of our Irish saint, Columban, whose bells are singularly sweet and deep.

Bobio.

MY DEAR H.,

Our visit here promises to be a great success ; the scenery is sublime, and the old town itself is full of interest, but the hotel is just as primitive as any you could find in an Irish town (fig. 41). I took a small room next my bedroom for my photography, and turned it into a "dark room." After getting this to rights, and unpacking all my chemicals, we went out for our first walk, and explored the bed of the river to where the Trebbia is joined by the mountain torrent Bobio ; they pronounce it Bobio, according to the older form of the word, though they spell it now with two b's. Then we explored the church of S. Columbano, and showed our letters of introduction to the Parroco and the Canonico, as they call the two priests in charge, who were delighted to hear I was

going to photograph, and gave me *carte blanche* to do as I liked.

The church stands in the upper end of the little town, fully one half of which consists of the now deserted monastic buildings which were grouped about it (fig. 46). It is a Lombardic building, restored in the seventeenth century, what remains of



Fig. 46.—CHURCH OF ST. COLUMBAN, BOBIO.

the more ancient buildings being the bell-tower, the subterranean church or crypt, the sacristy, the old refectory, the wood-house, and the cellar. Like most of the Lombardic buildings, it has a porch, the atrium, or Paradise, as it was called. Inside, the first thing that strikes the eye is a fresco of Pope Gregory I. teaching his choir to intone (fig. 47). This is a fine com-

position, placed above the chancel arch, but of course I did not stop to look at anything in the upper church, so anxious was I to reach the crypt in which Columbanus and the companions who followed him from Ireland, lie entombed (fig. 48).



Fig. 47.—INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF ST. COLUMBAN, BOBIO.

You descend into this crypt by two flights of stairs, six steps in each, to right and left of the choir, which meet on a landing-place under the sanctuary, whence a broad staircase leads down to the lower church, the Tuburio, or Scurolo, as it is called. The roof here is round-arched, the arches springing from six marble

columns, resting on ornamented bases. To the right of this crypt is a small chapel, now fallen into disuse on account of the damp. The beautiful altar-screen of wrought iron, which formerly set apart the chancel from the nave, is now placed at the entrance of this side-chapel. This fine example of delicate



Fig. 48.—CRYPT AND TOMB OF COLUMBAN.

iron tracery is said to date from the time of Columban. To the left is another chapel dedicated to S. Sylvestro, with an altar to the Holy Virgin.

The tomb of Columban stands in the middle of this subterranean church. It is a marble sarcophagus, on the top of which originally lay a very noble recumbent statue of the saint,

his crosier and mitre picked out in gold. But this figure, the finest portion of the monument, has been lifted away and placed with its face against the wall at the back of the sarcophagus, while a wooden table with candles and artificial flowers takes its place. I believe it is about a hundred and fifty



Fig. 49.—BAS-RELIEF. ST. COLUMBAN TAMES A BEAR.

years since this monument was thus mutilated. The statue is fixed on its side against the back of the tomb, but so close to the wall of the church that you cannot get to a sufficient distance from it to make a drawing, or even to photograph it.

The sides of the sarcophagus are divided into five compartments, filled with bas-reliefs of the greatest interest, illustrating incidents in the life of St. Columban. The first (fig. 49) repre-

sents the miracle of the saint in the forest near Bobio, when he commanded the bear to submit to the yoke with the bullock.¹ Here should be noted the book satchel carried in the hand of St. Columban, according to the custom of his countrymen. This may be a representation made in 1484 of the very book



Fig. 50.—BAS-RELIEF. ST. COLUMBAN WRITES HIS RULE.

satchel which contained the Bobio MS. (k) of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew, now numbered G. vii. in the National Gallery of Turin, which is thus spoken of by Dr. Wordsworth :—

“The chief interest attaching to our manuscript arises from the tradition which connects it with the life of St. Columban, generally

¹ See p. 130, *supra*.

esteemed the earliest of those noble Celtic missionaries who evangelized central Europe. The inscription still found in the volume declares that 'According to tradition that was the same book which the blessed Abbot Columban was accustomed to carry about with him in his



Fig. 51.—BAS-RELIEF. ST. COLUMBAN RECEIVES THE HYDRIA.

satchel.' It was, therefore, if this be true, the companion of those travels which ended at Bobio in 613, about two years before his death."¹

¹ See "Old Latin Biblical Texts," No. 11, p. xiii., ed. John Wordsworth, D.D. (Ox., Clar. Press, 1886).

The second represents the saint composing his rule; two disciples are kneeling by, and the figure of the Almighty appears in the sky surrounded by an aureole, from which a dove descends on a ray of light towards the hand of the saint, who writes upon a book resting on his knee.

The third and centre compartment represents Pope Gregory I.



Fig. 52.—BAS-RELIEF. ST. COLUMBAN CASTS OUT DEVILS.

giving the sacred hydria to Columban, who kneels at his feet (see figs. 42 and 51). This is the most beautiful composition of the series. The Pope is seated on a golden throne, richly decorated with griffins for arms; the saint, with his deacon behind, kneeling to receive the precious gift. The Pope's face is wonderfully expressive, drawing in his lips as if some accident

M

might happen to the vessel as it passed from his hands into those of Columban. Three calm, reposeful figures of saints stand in the background looking on.

The fourth bas-relief shows St. Columban healing those possessed of devils, a miracle he is said to have performed at the



Fig. 53.—BAS-RELIEF. ST. COLUMBAN DEDICATES HIS MONASTERY.

gates of Paris. Here the faces are full of expression, and the contrast is very striking, of the miserable, devil-possessed maniacs, who approach to be healed, and the peaceful, happy faces of those who have been relieved, while in the sky above quite a cloud of little demons are seen escaping out of the sufferers' mouths and flying away discomfited (fig. 52).

The fifth and final composition shows the saint offering a model of his church and monastery for consecration (fig. 53). These figures are all sculptured in white marble, relieved upon a blue background, and some of the details are picked out with gold, as, for instance, the aureole of the saint or the nimbus of the Almighty. The crypt was very dark, and I was compelled to photograph these most interesting bas-reliefs by the flash-light.

The following inscriptions appear upon this tomb, the first two being sculptured upon the open pages of the Bible at the feet of the recumbent statue (fig. 54) :—

“ Nequaquam ex his comeditis nisi
quos dimisistis venerint.”

“ Tanta piscium copia est rete impletum
ut vix pro multitudine trahi potuisset.”

“ In vain shall ye eat of these unless those which you have left shall come.”

“ The net was filled with so great a number of fishes that it scarcely could be drawn in on account of the multitude.”

This inscription has been explained by Padre Remondini, Professor in Genoa, as referring to the two following events in the life of the holy abbot.¹

While the saint was in France, intent upon the foundation of his monastery at Luxeuil, two of his disciples belonging to the monastery of Annegray going, as was their custom, in quest of provisions, caught five fish upon the river Moselle, three of which were living and two dead ; leaving the dead behind, they carried the live fish to the monastery. The saint, notwithstanding the distance at which he was, saw in the spirit this thing that they had done, and being displeased with his disciples, he addressed

¹ See “ Mem. Iscrizione Antiche di Bobbio,” per Marcello Remondini. Genoa, 1886.

them in the words of the first of these two inscriptions, and sent them back for the fish they had left behind.

Another day the saint sent brother Gallus to fish in the river Brusca. The brother went instead to the river Loignon. He threw the nets; the fish appeared in shoals, but rushed away. Brother Gallus failed to catch one, and returned empty-handed to the saint. St. Columban rebuked him for his disobedience, and again sent him to the river Brusca, where brother Gallus secured an abundant take of fish.¹



Fig. 54.—INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMB OF ST. COLUMBAN.

The third inscription, giving the artist's name and date, appears upon the first bas-relief at the side of the monument :—

“Hoc opus fecit Magister Joannes de Patruarcis de
Midiolano 1480 die ultimo mensis Marcii.”

¹ These references to events in the life of St. Columban appear to be taken from some passages in the life of the saint written by Abbot Jonas, which it is not possible to discover now. Surius has “Nequaquam ex his comedetis nisi quos reliquistis allati fuerint. Mittit rete in aquas et vix potest præ copia piscium illud ad se retrahere.” If these words do not correspond literally, it is because Surius, as he himself affirms, takes them from a copy of the life by Jonas, which he has altered to improve the style.

“Master Joannes de Patruarcis, of Milan, did this work on the last day of the month of March, 1480.”

My kind friend, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, has identified this artist's name for me with that of one of the painters employed in the works carried on in Milan Cathedral, A.D. 1465-66. She has sent me the following note from the British Museum Library:—

“‘Annali della Fabrica del Duomo di Milano, dall' origine fino al presente.’ Pubblicate a cura della sua amministrazione. Milano, 1877. 8 vols. and an Index, 4to. (a splendid work).”

The “Raccolta degli Atti della fabrica” is here printed in full. Under date “Addi 29 dicembre,” 1464, following other items concerning the altar of S. Julliet in ecclesia majori Mediolani, comes the following:—

“Item pro solutione refacturæ capitulorum 22 vitrearum præmissæ finestræ, l. 26. Item pro mercede manufacturæ suæ pingendi figuram dominæ sanctæ Mariæ cum coazono, et pro emendo centen. 4 auri pro ornamento suprascriptæ figuræ, nec non pro coloribus et auro positis super tabulam unam in ecclesia majori Mediolani, extimatum per magistrum Johannem de Patriarcis pictorem 1.40” (vol. ii., p. 237).¹

A note to the word “coazono” above, begins, “Non è agevole comprendere li significato di questo vocabulo, e quale perciò fosse la composizione di quella pittura,” etc.

In vol. ii. of the appendices, p. 217, among a list of painters and their works, occurs “Patriarchi Giovanni di Argegno, 1465-66.”

¹ “Item. To payment for repairing the capitals of 22 glasses of the aforesaid window, l. 26.

“Item. To payment for his own handiwork of painting the figure of the holy Lady Mary (with the girdle?) and for buying 104 of gold for ornamenting the above-mentioned figure, and for colours and gold put on the picture . . . in the greater church of Milan, estimated by Master Joannes de Patriarcis, the painter, 1.40.”

“1465, Doratura ed ornati per la cassa dell’ organo ; 1466, simile.”

The index refers to all these entries as belonging to Patriarca Giovanni di Argenio, pittore.

The following inscription, mentioned by Fleming, appears in the second bas-relief, where St. Columban is represented as writing his rule. It is engraved on a scroll that hangs across the sky (fig. 50) :—

“Hic reqiescit in Pace SanCtuS PateR Columbanus Abbas.”

“Here rests in peace Holy Father Columban Abbot.”

The body of St. Columban was removed from its original grave in the year 1482, in the presence of John, bishop and abbot, and placed in a coffin of wood adorned with a cotton byssus, which coffin on the next day was carried in a solemn procession of clergy and people, who placed it in this new marble shrine beneath the altar, along with the teeth of the saint, and upon the same day the relics of the other saints were also translated. This altar, with those of the two first successors of St. Columban, of which I shall speak presently, was consecrated in 1485, on the 18th of September, by Monsignore Luchino de’ Trotti, Bishop of Bobio, at the instance of the prelate, Padre Abate of Gian Antonio of Pavia, and the act is signed and witnessed by the notary Columbano Chacastino. The following inscription is painted on the ornamental wooden frame which surrounded this altar, called by the Italians Ombracolo, which now stands in the side-chapel of the crypt :—

S. COLVMBanus HIBernensis Divi BENEDictI DISCIPLINAE
SECTator AB AGILVLFO LONGOBARDorum REGE ECCLESIA
S. PETRI ET BOBIENSI

TERRITOrIO QVAQVAVERSVm AD QVATTVOR MILLIARIA DO
NATVS HANC VRBEM HOCQVE COENOBIVm (QVOD ET ABBAS

MODERATVS EST) ALIAQUE MVLTA CONSTITVIT ANIMO NVNC
COELO CORPORE HIC QVIESCIT.

Padre Remondini is inclined to believe that a portion of the original inscription on the first tomb, which was broken up in 1480, still exists on a stone fragment now used as a bracket supporting the sarcophagus, fixed in the wall behind the altar, containing the bones of the holy Bishop Cumnian (figs. 57 and 58). But it is so very small a fragment, that probably it is only a fourth of the original, and it is most difficult to extract any sense from it (fig. 55):—

.....
 VS CONSILIVM MVL
 DAB LEGATIS RESP
 IS . PE ... NE . REGEM FRIX ..
 ITE SANCTORVM SINGI
 ISTOS AD PROPRIOS I
 OPIACII DE FVI

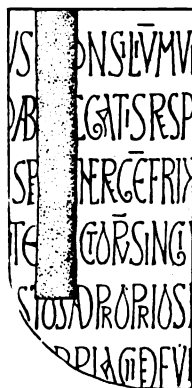


Fig. 55.—BRACKET OF SARCOFAGUS OF CUMNIAN.

Padre Remondini observes: "I cannot conceal a latent suspicion which has dawned upon me from a few of the words which are still legible, united to the form of the characters, and the place in which the inscription occurs. I suspect this to be a part of the ancient epitaph which was upon the original tomb of Columban before the Abbot Gian Antonio of Pavia replaced it by the marble sarcophagus constructed in the year 1480, now

beneath the table of the altar of the saint. The fragment alludes to the Answer to the Legates (*Legatis Resp . . .*) of the King of Frisia (*ne Regem Frix . . .*), perhaps also of the saints (. . . .ctorum) and of the palace (*palacii*).

“Frisia or Frisonia is the region which corresponds to the present Holland, anciently on the confines of the kingdom of Austrasia. It is known that St. Columban came from Ireland and England into Austrasia. History does not state by what road he came, but nothing is more probable than that he had to cross Frisia, and thus the saint, who often came into contact with the higher powers, opened relations with the king of that country.

“We read in his life of the embassy sent by Clothair, King of Neustria, and then of the whole of Gaul, to Bobio, inviting Columban to his court. And it is well known that in France, as in England and Italy, the reigning sovereigns desired his presence in their states. May it not be that the King of Frisia felt the same wish, and sent an embassy to recall him? It may be that if we had the whole of this inscription, we should find this to be the fact. The character of the letters, which seem to be somewhat more ancient than those of St. Cumman's epitaph, supports this theory. And the position which this fragment now occupies leads me to imagine that the ancient sepulchral stone was broken when moved at the opening of the tomb in which the remains of St. Columban had lain for about nine centuries, and that the artist entrusted to fix the sarcophagus of the bones of St. Cumman in the wall (a work which was executed at the same time as the translation of the relics of the holy founder) found that this piece of stone would suit his purpose as a bracket.”

The altars of SS. Attala and Bertulfus may be seen against the side-walls of the crypt to right and left of the altar of St. Columban. S. Attala, who had followed Columban from Ireland, and who appears as his successor, first in the abbacy.

of Luxeuil, and then at Bobio, lies entombed in the wall immediately behind the marble slab represented in fig. 56. He is said to have continued his master's work, struggling bravely against Arianism, and to have died at the foot of the crucifix he had placed at the door of his cell so that he might kiss the feet of Christ every time he went out or in. In the case of both these tombs, as described by Remondini, "a board is placed between the steps of the altar and the urn containing the bones of the

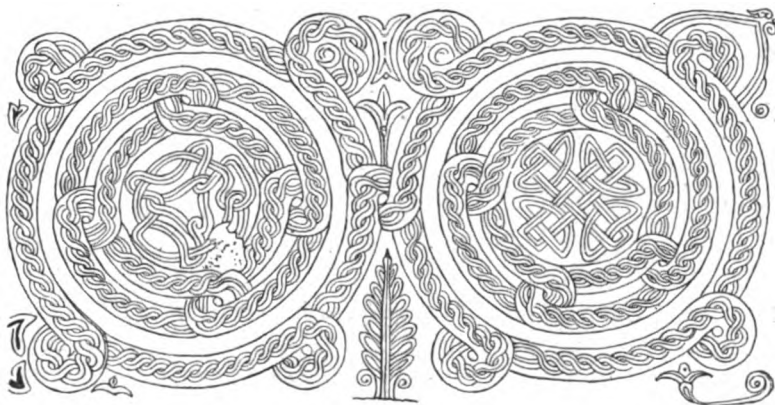


Fig. 56.—TOMB OF BISHOP ATTALA.

saint, which, when removed, is found to cover a hole in the ground extending beneath the two tables or altars, in which are to be seen paintings of various abbots and monks, whose names are written in German characters.

"These are clearly work of the fifteenth century, probably 1488, when the tomb of Columbanus was erected. The figures, as well as the inscriptions, are so injured by time and moisture that they can only be discerned with difficulty.

"At the same time I saw beneath the altar of S. Attala, in the

middle, an Ecce Homo, at each side of which stood two abbots and a monk—seven figures in all—and read the inscriptions:—

S. ATHALLA ABBAS. S. ALBERTVS ABBAS
 . . . e PLACENTINVS MONACHUS.

“Beneath the altar of S. Bertulfus I saw the Madonna with the divine child, and on each side of her two abbots and a monk also, and could clearly read:—

S. PIANVS MONACHUS PAPIENSIS.

These paintings are from the same hand that painted the Madonna on the pilaster of the chapel called Madonnina.”

Returning to the centre of the crypt, we perceive the stone of St. Cummian. “Here,” writes Padre Remondini, “is the most precious inscription in all Bobio.” This stone covered the grave of St. Cummian, formerly bishop in Scotia, afterwards monk in Bobio, who died in the middle of the eighth century. The marble and inscription belong to the same date. We learn from it that King Liutprand himself had the monument executed and that this stone was its covering. As it now stands it is fixed erect into the wall which stands to the left of the altar *in cornu evangelii*, but this was not its original position. It ought to be laid horizontally on the floor. If it were not so, the ornamental border below the inscription is turned the wrong way, and the two doves at each side of the monogram of Christ, as they are now placed, rest on their heads with their legs in the air. And as we are now considering this ornamental border, we may further observe that the said monogram is of a very ancient and primitive form. It is formed of two Greek letters, I Iota, and X Chi, entwined in a circle so as to resemble a wheel with six rays.¹

¹ Another ancient monument bearing this form of monogram, found in Cogolato, has been described by Marchese Marcello Durazzo fu Gian-Luca. Lettera a D. Marcello Remondini.—Genoa, Tipografia Arcivescovile, 1880, p. 13.

From the feet of the doves spring two branches of vine, which intertwine so as to form a beautiful series of ovals enclosing fruit and leaves alternating with stars. These branches meet at the other end of the marble, where they encircle a two-handed chalice. At each end the design is broken, which leads to the conclusion that this was but a portion of a larger monument or sarcophagus, along the ends of which this entwined border was continued.

But we must now turn to the inscription. This divides itself into two parts. The first in rude hexameters contains the laudation of the saint; the second in three lines [in tre righe] gives the day of the entombment, called the deposition, and the name of the artist who sculptured the work.

- 1 Here the sacred members of the blessed Cummian are dissolved,
- 2 Whose soul penetrating to Heaven rejoices with the Angels.
- 3 He was great in dignity, high-born and beautiful.
- 4 Scotia sent him here to the boundaries of Italy in his old age.
- 5 He stayed at Bobio, constrained by the love of the Lord,
- 6 Where serving the Rule of the Venerable Columbanus
- 7 In watching, fasting, unceasing sedulous praying
- 8 Four Olympiads and the compass of one year,
- 9 He lived in such happiness we may believe him now to be blessed.
- 10 Merciful, prudent, pious to the brethren, peaceful with all men,
- 11 The years of his life were ninety
- 12 And one lustrum and four months.
- 13 O worthy Father, be a powerful intercessor
- 14 For the most glorious King Liutprand, who, to thee
- 15 Devoted, decorated this precious stone tomb
- 16 That it might be manifest where the precious body lies.
- 17 Deposited here is Lord Cummian
- 18 Bishop—XIV. Kalends of September.
- 19 Master John made this.



Fig. 57.—INSCRIPTION ON TOMB OF CUMMIAN.

BOBIO A.D. 726-730.

INSCRIPTION ON TOMB OF BISHOP CUMMIAN.

- 1 Hic sacra beati membra Cumiani solvuntur.
- 2 Cujus cælum penetrans anima *cum*¹ Angelis gaudet.
- 3 Iste fuit magnus, dignitate, genere, forma.
- 4 Hunc misit Scotia fines ad Italicos senem.
- 5 Locatur Ebovio *Domini* constrictus amore.
- 6 Ubi venerandi dogma Columbani servando.
- 7 Vigilans, jejunans, indefessus sedule orans.
- 8 Olimpiadis quattuor uniusque circolo anni.
- 9 Sic vixit feliciter ut felix modo credatur.
- 10 Mitis, prudens, pius fratribus pæcificus cunctis.
- 11 Huic ætatis anni fuerunt novies deni.
- 12 Lustrum quoque unum, *mens*esque quattuor simul.
- 13 Ac pater egregie potens intercessor exsiste.
- 14 Pro gloriosissimo Liutprando Rege qui tuum
- 15 Præcioso lapide tumbum decoravit devotus.
- 16 Sit ut manifestum alnum ubi tegitur corpus.
- 17 Depositus est hic Dominus Cuffianus
- 18 Episcopus XIII Kal. Septembris.
- 19 Fecit Johaniis Magister.

The text of this inscription is printed by Abbot Rossetti in his "Bobbio illustrato," but he has mutilated the last line so that it cannot be construed, and omitted the last word *Magister* which qualifies the *Johannes*; other inaccuracies also occur in his reading, all certainly owing to the difficulty of deciphering the stone itself,² the characters, however well cut in themselves, being

¹ In the original the contraction C with a cedilla like the figure 5, C, which is an unusual form, but the context proves it to be significant of *cum*.

² Thus Rossetti gives *Locatus* for *locatur* (l. 5)—*Ebobio* for *Ebovio*—*Sedulo* for *Sidule* (l. 7)—*Olympiades* for *Olimpiadis* (l. 8)—*Curriculo* for *Circolo* (l. 8)—*pæcificus* for *pæcificus* (l. 10)—*Si tuum manifestas alnum ibi tegitur corpus* for *Sit ut manifestum alnum ubi tegitur corpus* (l. 16)—*Positus* for *depositus* (l. 17). A manuscript copy of this epitaph, made by a certain Don Colombano, is preserved in the episcopal archives of Bobbio, but it also varies in certain instances, such as *E BONO* instead of *ebovio*—*novies* instead of *novies* (l. 11)—and *elevatus* instead of *devotus* (line 15).

incised and filled with clay, and the words running into one another without divisions, the last lines being then partially concealed by a step, which was afterwards removed when Monsignore Vaggi exposed the altar of St. Columban.

It appears from the eighth line of this inscription that St. Cummian spent seventeen years at Bobio—not twenty, as has been stated. And we therefore dissent from the entry in the Chronicle of Bobio, as well as in the lesson of the office now recited in the diocese of Bobio, where the saint is said to have spent twenty years in that monastery. Our version is based on the testimony of the inscription on the stone, which affirms that St. Cummian lived at Bobio for four Olympiads and one year, and by the usual computation four years are contained in one Olympiad.

So that although, according to Ussher (*"Veter. Epistol. Hybern. sylloge," "Works,"* vol. iv., p. 420), the Olympiad may be held to signify five years, it seems unnecessary to resort to this unusual computation in order to maintain the twenty years' sojourn. If the period of seventeen years be accepted as true, then the saint, who was ninety-five when he died, was seventy-eight years of age when he reached Bobio, and this is borne out by the statement in the fourth line of the epitaph, that he left Scotia in his old age.

Ughelli (*"Italia Sacra"*)¹ informs us that this St. Cummian was identical with Bishop Cummian, son of Fiachna, King of West Munster, b. 592, author of the *"Hymn of Cummian,"* but this Cummian was born fifteen years before our bishop. The Liutprand who erected his monument was King of Lombardy from 712 to 735; therefore, if this Bishop Cummian died even in the first year of his reign, he must have been born in Ireland in 617, and if he was only seventeen years resident at Bobio he probably left Ireland about A.D. 695.

¹ Vol. iv., p. 956.

Colgan¹ is inclined to identify him with St. Cummian, Bishop of Nendrum, but he died, according to the annalists and "Martyrology of Donegal," in the year 658, and was venerated on the 1st of July. From this inscription it appears that the 14th kalends of September, that is, the 19th of August, was the day



Fig. 58.—SARCOPHAGUS OF CUMMIAN.

of the Bishop Cummian mentioned in our inscription. True, it has been held by Padre Rossetti and others who have deciphered this inscription that this entry refers to the artist Johannes, that he finished his work on the 14th kal. of September, but the

¹ "Act. SS. Hib.," p. 58.

rubbing distinctly shows a stop after September and none after Cumianus in the line above, so that it should be read, "Depositus est hic Dominus Cumianus Episcopus XIV Kal. Septembris."

Above this inscription a sarcophagus, said to contain the bones of the saint, projects from the wall (fig. 58). Two similar sarcophagi may be seen at the right-hand side of the central altar, in one of which the bones of St. Congal (fig. 59) are said to

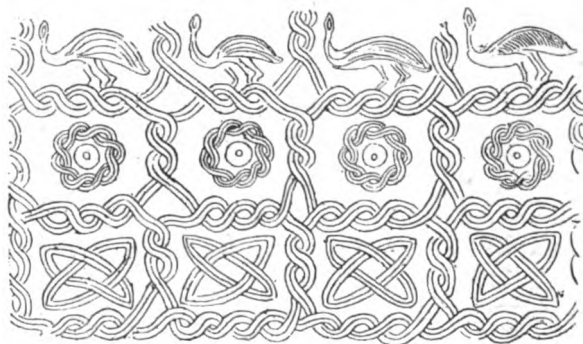


Fig. 59.—TOMB OF CONGAL.

be preserved, and in the other the bones and ashes of S. Romano and many other saints (fig. 60). But these last-mentioned monuments are not *bonâ fide*. They were all made from fragments of the ancient ambone of the old church, and although the bones of the saints, which originally rested beneath the wall on which they are fixed, were, no doubt, carefully laid into these receptacles, yet these marble fragments of the ruined pulpit were only thus utilized in 1480. One can but be thankful that these fine sculptures are preserved in any form. They are striking examples of the interlaced work which we have already associated with the native art of our country.

From the crypt we came upstairs again, and entered the

sacristy, where we saw the other relics of our saint, which I had already heard of from Sir Samuel Ferguson, who visited Bobio in the year 1847.

I found the knife to agree with Fleming's description of it. It has a rude horn handle, and is kept carefully in a velvet-lined case.

"Here also," says Fleming,¹ "is to be seen the knife of Columbanus (fig. 61), which is said to be of such blessing and virtue, that bread cut with it is never afterwards liable to corruption or putrescence, and if women eat this bread when nursing it causes

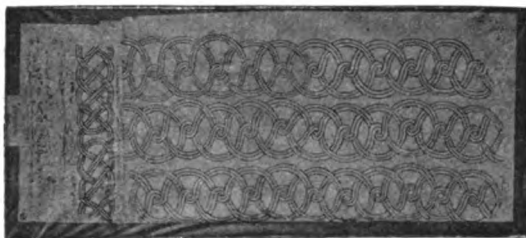


Fig. 60.—TOMB OF FOLLOWERS OF COLUMBAN.

an abundance of milk, and moreover has great efficacy against the bites of mad dogs and against fevers. This knife presents an appearance of primitive simplicity; its handle is of black bone or horn, its blade longish and broad."

Dr. Wordsworth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, has some observations on this relic in his work entitled, "Old Latin Texts," No. 11, on the Bobio MS. (k), now numbered G. vii. 15, in the National Library of Turin, where he quotes from Peyron ("Ciceronis Orat.," etc., 1824), who, in his description of the relics in the sacristy of the monastery, says: "Cultellus

¹ "Collect.," p. 362.

S. Columbani quo patris populo præciditur die ascensionis domini in monticulo qui dicitur crux vera," which is thus translated by Dr. Wordsworth, "The knife of S. Columbanus, with which the poplar of the father is trimmed on the day of the ascension of the Lord, in the mount which is called the True Cross," and his lordship asks in connection with the *patris* populo, "Should 'populo' be 'populus' ? and was 'our father's poplar' a tree planted by the saint, or one under which he sat ?"

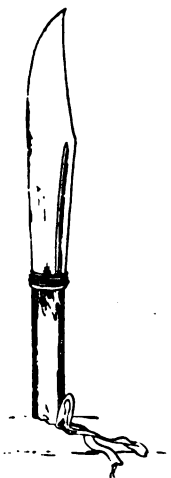


Fig. 61.—KNIFE OF
ST. COLUMBAN.

Another suggestion, and one which is at once supported by the superstitions connected with this knife, has been offered to me by Professor Mahaffy, which appears to be the true solution of the difficulty. It is that we should read the word *patris* as *panis*, meaning "the knife with which bread is cut for the people on the day of the Ascension of the Lord in the mount which is called the True Cross," *patris* being the mistake of a scribe meaning to write *panis*.

The next relic we were shown was the wooden cup or mazer (see Appendix) out of which St. Columban drank (fig. 62). This plain vessel scooped out of a piece of rough wood was in the fourteenth century encircled with a silver band and formed into a chalice by Padre Abbate de Pietro ("De Garigiis Bobbiese"), as is revealed by these words, that may be read on the same cup:—

"Hoc opus factum fuit tempore Domini Petri
abatis monasterii S. Columbani Bobiensis, anno 1354."

"This vessel," writes Fleming,¹ "is still preserved with vene-

¹ "Collect.," p. 367.

ration in the monastery of Bobio with other relics. I have shown the benefits of the cures which those who drink out of it undoubtedly obtain on account of the devotion of St. Columban. Certainly that the rich blessing of Columbanus descended on this vessel is proved by a miracle which is told in the saint's history of how, when this cup was let down into a well that had run dry, the well became filled with water." (See Appendix II.)

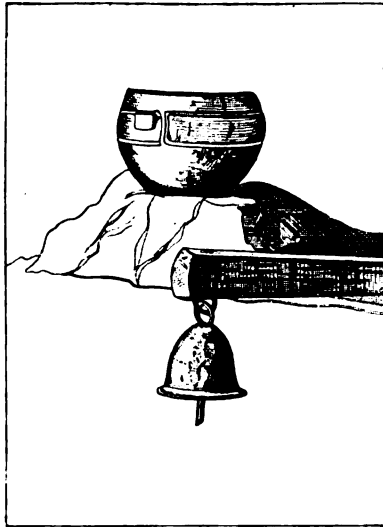


Fig. 62.—BELL AND CUP OF ST. COLUMBAN.

The third relic we were shown was the bell (fig. 62), which is of peculiar form and structure, according to Padre Rossetti, but was not peculiar to an Irish eye, as there are many old bells similar to it in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It is interesting to know that in the twelfth century, when the sacred body of S. Columbanus was transferred from Bobio to Pavia,

this little rude old Irish bell was rung at the head of the procession.

The fourth relic of the saint that we were shown was the vessel given by Pope Gregory I. to Columban (figs. 42 and 51). "Most of all," writes Padre Rossetti, "to be admired is the alabaster water-vessel, about fourteen inches in height and eight in



Fig. 63.—SILVER SHRINE OF ST. COLUMBAN.

diameter. According to tradition this water-vessel was given, full of singularly sacred relics, by St. Gregory the Great to Columban. It was said to have been borne by the Pope from Constantinople when he returned from his visit to Pelagio II., and that it was one of those vessels used at the wedding feast in Cana of Galilee, and sanctified by the presence of our Divine Redeemer."

We were next shown a silver bust representing the head of St. Columban, in which a portion of the skull of the saint is said to be enshrined. This is a work of the sixteenth century. The following inscriptions appear upon it :—

“HOC PIA FVLGENTI MONACORVM CVRA METALLO SANCTA COLVMBANI CONDIDIT OSSA PATRIS,” and at the back the following lines :—

“DA PATER UT POPVLVS BOBIENSIS SEMPER ET ISTA SINT LOCA FELICI NVMINE TVTA TVO.”

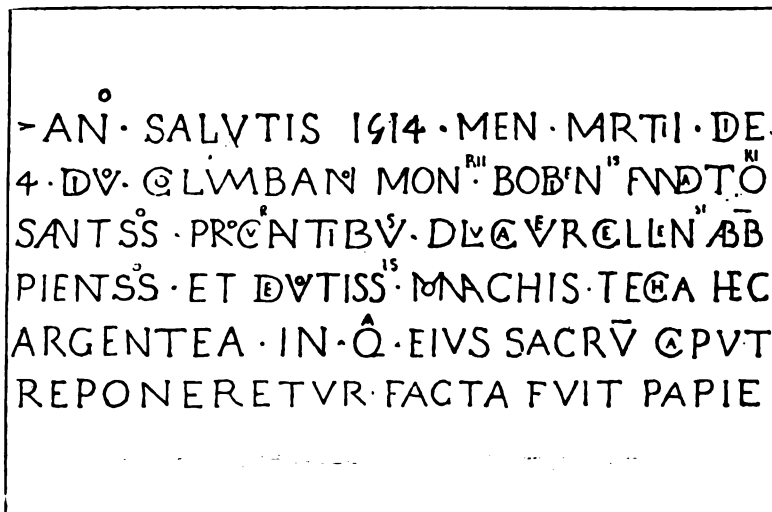


Fig. 64.—INSCRIPTION AT BASE OF SHRINE OF ST. COLUMBAN.

Two different forms of the monogram of our Saviour are to be seen upon the sides—that according to the later style which originated with S. Bernardino of Siena, and the primitive form composed of the three Greek letters Chi Rho Sigma, $\chi\rho\sigma$, but in Teutonic characters.

In the silver plate at the base of this shrine (fig. 64) we find the inscription which relates how this silver shrine was dedicated to

St. Columban, the founder of the monastery of Bobio, and was made at Pavia to contain his sacred head by the care of the monks, with the abbot, Don Luca di Vercelli, on the 4th March, 1514.

A very beautiful ancient ivory cylinder is also preserved in the sacristy ; it is three inches in diameter by five in height, with figures in bas-relief most exquisitely cut, probably the work of some Greek hand, representing the fable of Orpheus (fig. 65). The god is seen seated upon a stone surrounded by wild animals of various kinds, about seventy in number, all listening with fixed attention to the music of the lyre, while an evil spirit, like a harpy, is flying before the sound of the music.



Fig. 65.—IVORY CYLINDER.
ORPHEUS.

The following antiquities described by Mabillon as in the treasury when he visited Bobio, and which were still there when Padre Rossetti wrote his account of the place, have now disappeared, nor could the Parocco in charge give me any account of them. First, a dove of brass, which was formerly used for containing the viaticum and for carrying it to the sick and infirm, is described by Mabillon as made from an ancient copper ore. And also a hollow metal figure of a ram, in which the sacred oil was placed in ancient times for administering extreme unction. A silver cross, in the back of which three precious agates were inserted like medallions, on the principal one of which, says Mabillon, " Isis and Serapis have been carved, with Egyptian letters running round it. On the right arm of the cross is the figure of a priest of Isis, with the sistrum in his left hand ; his right hand raised, as that of a man who gives a

blessing ; the chaplet on his head reaching to the top of the cross. There is an agate without any carved work on the left arm, and on the lowest portion of the cross is another agate with the image of the emperor." Padre Rossetti indignantly repudiates the theory of Mabillon as to the Egyptian origin of these agates. He says, "Mabillon, with the usual licence of Frenchmen, has baptized these two crowned heads on the principal agate, Isis and Serapis, and decided that the inscription running round, which is in minute characters, was Egyptian, whereas it is really Greek, and refers to the love of the celebrated and beautiful Irene of Athens, wedded to Leo IV., Emperor of Constantinople. So it is more likely that these heads represent the two wedded sovereigns." (See Appendix IV.)

Fleming¹ describes some other relics which were taken from the tomb in the fifteenth century and placed in the treasury, but which have now disappeared, "Twelve of the saint's teeth, supported with as many fastenings or stays, are fixed in a silver circle of elegant workmanship. Some of the saint's hairs are also kept in a kind of pyramidal tabernacle."

Leaving the sacristy, and passing through the church, we re-entered the portico or paradise at the west end. This consists of four high and wide arches, supported by eight columns. At the south side of this porch you enter the door of the monastery, and pass along a gallery seventy feet long, lit by four windows, which leads back to the sacristy ; at the end there is a high door, over which the following inscription may be read :—

"AGILULPHO LONGOBARDORUM REGI QUOD DIVO COLUMBANO BASILICAM SANCTI PETRI ET CIRCUMPOSITA LOCA ET MONTIS AD QUATUOR CIRCUMQUAQUE MILLIARIA DONAVIT ANN. MDXCIX ABBAS ET MONACHI TANTI BENEFICII MEMORES POSUERE ANNO MDCCXXV."

¹ "Collect.," p. 62.

In front of the said doorway a wide staircase leads upwards to the abbatial apartments, now government offices. Ascending twenty-two steps, you enter another gallery of the same proportions as that below. This is lighted by nine windows, and leads to the dormitory of the monastery, a lofty chamber lighted by two great windows at the end; this is also used as government offices. From the gallery here you enter on the

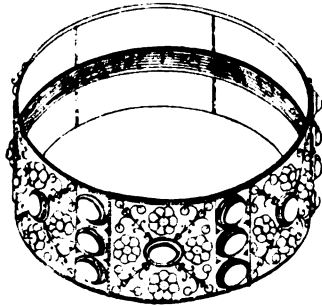


Fig. 66.—IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY.

cloister which surrounds the old garden of the monastery. This leads to the refectory, which is now used as a factory for macaroni. Through the bars of the high iron railings of the machinery I could with difficulty see that the whole end wall of the chamber was covered by a fine, though faded fresco of the Crucifixion, with the Magdalen standing at the foot of the cross. I also noticed a pretty fountain, where the monks washed their hands

before eating, fixed in the end wall near the entrance, adorned with ornaments in terra-cotta.

You will remember that in the diploma of Agilulph granting the land to Columban for his monastery, the king only granted him the use of half of a well, upon the ground that he had granted the other half to some former occupant. When I descended into the garden I was careful to ask the Parocco to show me the oldest well of the monastery, and what was my delight when he led me up through a vineyard to the old boundary wall, and there I saw a semicircular tank, being indeed the half well mentioned in the diploma. It projects from the ancient wall of the monastery, which cuts the tank in two parts, and the marble of its parapet being reddish in colour, or

white veined with red and black, showing against the green, grey, and bronze hues of the moss-grown wall behind, with the garlanded vine trellis at one side, combine to form a lovely picture for a painter. On asking the Parocco why the



Fig. 67.—HALF OF THE WELL INSIDE THE WALL OF THE MONASTERY.

well was semicircular, he said the other half was outside the wall for the use of the townspeople, and so indeed I found it when he led me out into the street into the Piazza S. Lorenzo. Upwards of twelve hundred years had passed since, in the eighth year of his reign, King Agilulph had made this curious stipulation

in his grant.¹ Both sides of this well are given in figs. 67 and 68.

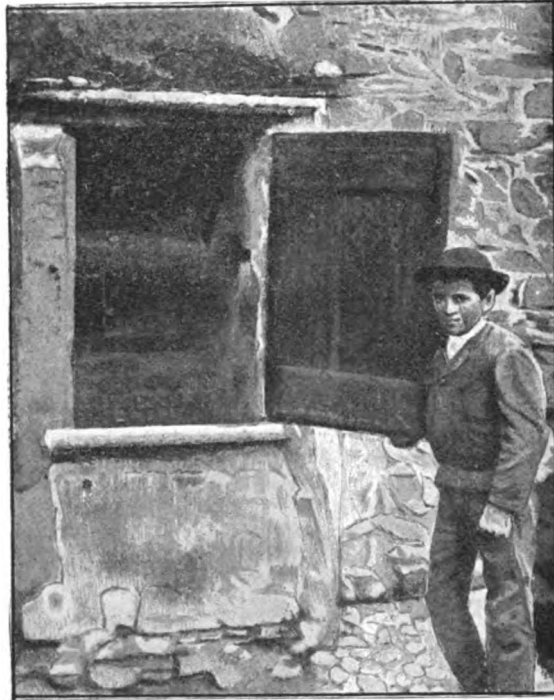


Fig. 68.—HALF OF THE WELL OUTSIDE THE WALL OF THE MONASTERY.

¹ Fig. 66 represents the iron crown of Lombardy, being a simple band of iron which, in the time of Queen Theodelinda and King Agilulph, was enshrined in its present beautiful case, a fine specimen of Byzantine jewellery. This case is formed of six plates of gold, each double, united by hinges of the same metal. The crown is decorated with gems and enamels. This interesting relic is preserved in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Monza.

Bobio,

Oct. 13th, 1889.

DEAR F.,

I have been here for ten days, and each day has brought fresh sources of interest in this delightful place. We have made rubbings of all the tombs of the Irish saints in the midst of whom Columban is said to be entombed. We also made rubbings of the great Latin inscription placed by King Liutprand over Cumman and the Latin inscription on the tomb of Columban himself. I found the old well mentioned in the diploma of Agilulph just as I had hoped to find it, cut in two by the monastery wall, and photographed both sides with some success. Firmly convinced of the antiquity of this old wall by this discovery, I explored every part of it that still remains, delighting in the variety of beautiful ferns and mosses with which it is covered. It runs along the north-east side of the town, where one of the old gates is still standing. This gives access to a fine mediæval tower called Il Castello, from the top of which the views of the surrounding country, the forest-clad mountains glowing in their autumn tints, are magnificent (figs. 41 and 72). There is also a mutilated figure of Columban on the bridge over the Trebbia, which I photographed. On Sunday afternoon we drove to La Spanna, the first-mentioned hermitage which you will remember reading of in the life of the saint. This proved to be a cave in the face of a cliff, a mere large hole, exactly like St. Kevin's Bed at Glendalough (fig. 69). The mouth of the cave measures 4 feet 10 inches across, and the cavity grows narrower, till at the furthest end there is not space for a man's head. It is about six feet in depth, but no man of ordinary height could stand upright in it, although he might recline at full length. However, we may believe it to have been larger in the days of our saint, or at least longer, for

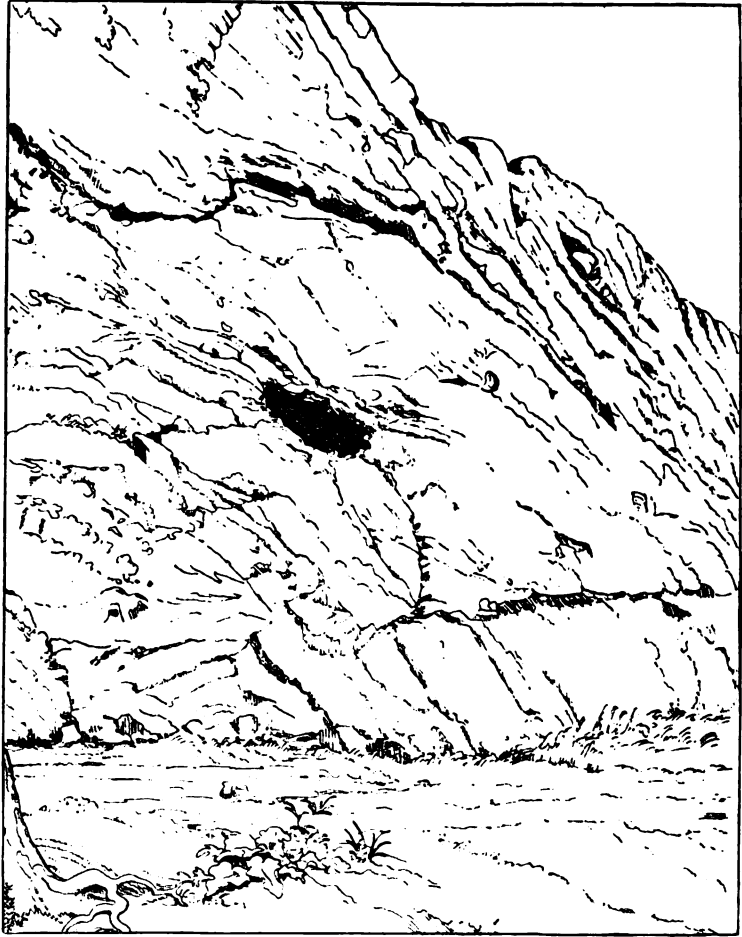


Fig. 69.--CAVE OF ST. COLUMBAN AT LA SPANNA.

it appears that fragments of the rock at the far end are falling from time to time so as to choke it up gradually.

So lately as the year 1844 the miraculous influences of the saint's healing powers were supposed to linger about the walls of this cave, and the devout peasantry of the surrounding country visited it in sickness. Nursing mothers brought their infants at the breast in the hope that with their milk they would here imbibe additional health and strength, and sufferers from erysipelas were cured by laying their faces on the spot where the saint had lain his head.

At the summit of this cliff there is a rock said to mark the boundary of the province of Pavia, which is marked by the impression of the palm (*spanna*) of St. Columban's hand, and in this instance, also, the healing power of their patron is believed to linger in the hollow of the rock, and many sufferers climbing to the spot have sought relief by laying their hand upon it. (See Appendix V. and figs. 70 and 71.)

The cliff here is, I suppose, about five hundred feet above the river Trebbia. This torrent rushes through a narrow gorge between very dark cliffs, which seem to form quite a sublime portal to the lovely valley in which Bobio is situated. The ascent to this cave of La Spanna is by a winding path through an oak wood, interspersed with juniper, sumach, and the Judas tree, at the end of which you reach a plateau beneath the cliff and cave, from which there is a fine view of



Fig. 70.—PRINT OF ST. COLUMBAN'S HAND ON ROCK, LA SPANNA.

the old town. St. Columban, sitting at the door of his cave, could thus look down on his old monastery, three or four miles away, nestling in the rich valley closed in by these mighty Apennines, and follow the silver windings of the river, which here is just as serpentine as the Arno is represented by Botticelli in his picture of the Assumption of the Virgin.



Fig. 71.—HEALING HAND OF
ST. COLUMBAN.

Next day I took two views of the picturesque bridge of Bobio, and in the afternoon we drove in the opposite direction to San Salvador, a little village at the foot of another gloomy mountain gorge. There we attempted to climb to the second hermitage mentioned in the life of Columban, San Michele. However, we had a stupid guide who did not know the way, and after climbing here and there for two hours or so, we returned to the road. Baffled though we were, we felt the time was not spent in vain; the scenery was wonderful, and though the sky was grey, yet the wood of oak and chestnut was

so brilliant from the golden and fiery colour of the leaves over your head that you seemed to walk in a sunset glow. We have had thunderstorms and heavy rains since, but I have finished a pencil drawing of the bridge and town, and have also photographed the five bas-reliefs of the tomb of Columban by the magnesium flashlight.



Fig. 72.—TOWN AND BRIDGE OF BOBIO.

Bobio,
Oct. 20, 1889.

DEAR M.,

I am quite in love with the Apennines, and think they are far more picturesque and more beautiful in colouring, not only by sunset and sunrise, but at every hour of the day, than I ever felt the Alps to be. One of the greatest adventures I ever had in my life was the expedition which I undertook alone, with an old man for guide, to the site of the oratory or the grotto to which Columban is said to have retired to die. A church was founded there afterwards dedicated to St. Michael, but only the foundations remain, and a portion of a wall built against the face of the cliff (fig. 73). I photographed this, but when I came to print the photograph I found that a ray of light had got in somehow, and there was a dark spot, the size of a shilling, at the side of the grotto. Was not this provoking? I wish you could have seen the fine gorges, the cliffs, the oak and chestnut forests, the rocky beds of the torrents, through which our brave old saint had to scramble to reach this last resting-place, and you would have felt there was something wonderful about it all.

The effect of the autumn colouring in the woods was most extraordinary; the trees are generally oak, juniper, chestnut, and the Judas tree. The oak leaves become perfectly golden here, while those of the chestnut and Judas tree are simply like fire—I never saw such a red; the result is that in the depths of the wood, even at mid-day, the air seems permeated with an evening light. Some of the mountain gorges are barren, dark, and gloomy, and most dangerous walking, so I had to hire a second guide, a forester that we met on the way up, who half carried me down the cliffs. At a good height above the plateau on which the church and cemetery of San Michele stood, I found the cave in which the saint is said to have slept—another

hole, in fact, like St. Kevin's Bed. As this was on the very face of the cliff, I could not succeed in photographing it. There was literally no spot on which I could fix the camera. The whole day's excursion deserves a more detailed description; so, at the risk of appearing to emulate the guide-book style, I must begin to describe it in detail.

The mountain on which these vestiges of the last retreat of St. Columban—grotto, cemetery, and church—are to be found, lies to the south-west of Bobio. A drive of two hours will bring you to San Salvador. The road from the town running first along the Trebbia, and crossing to the foot of the hill of Coli, passes over the bridge of the torrent Coriasca, which rushes forth beneath its lofty arch and divides into two streams at this point. One of these empties its waters into the Trebbia at San Salvador, where the ascent begins. The little church so called, with its picturesque Lombardic tower, crowns a precipitous rock almost encircled by the meeting waters of the two torrents. It stands at the entrance of a narrow gorge finer than any I had yet seen in the Apennines. The Trebbia, which I had left just before bright and smiling in the sunny reaches of the valley, is here hemmed in by precipices so dark and lofty as to hide every ray of warmth from its surface, and its deepened waters take a livid death-like hue, an ice-cold green, as, in their pent-up passion, they flow with irresistible force through the dark channels of the chasm. The gloom, though full of grandeur, is all but over-powering, and it is with a deep sigh of relief that, as the eye travels up the sublime outlines of these mountain passes, it rests on the deep purple of their distant summits and the depths of golden sky behind.

But to return to the object of our pilgrimage, the ruins of San Michele were reached from this point by the steep and tortuous path I have already mentioned, and I found a deep grotto of something the same character as that of the Rupe Cavo on Monte Pisano, where the overhanging rock had been utilised as a roof

O



Fig. 73.—SAN MICHELE—BURIAL-PLACE OF ST. COLUMBAN.

by the builders of the oratory. Here, however, there were no walls left standing, nothing but their foundations, half of which have fallen with the falling cliff. The cave is six yards long and eight feet high. From the foundations that remain of the walls built in front of this cave and penetrating its recesses, we can calculate that the oratory was four yards and a foot in width by eight feet in length.

A little further along the cliff we come to the cemetery and the wall of another oratory built against the face of it. The cliff in its fall has carried away the greater part of the cemetery, as well as its chapel, but human bones may still be seen projecting from the face of the bank in various places, and a slab with an incised cross on the face of it was found among the ruins, the character of which bears a certain resemblance to the Irish sepulchral slabs of the seventh and eighth centuries. This slab, in order to save it from destruction, was removed to the opposite side of the chasm, where it is now preserved within the precincts of the church of SS. Vito e Modesto of Coli, a parish on the mountain facing Bobio on the west. This stone is described in the "Acts of the Pastoral Visitation" of Monsignor Camillo Aulario on the 18th of August, 1603, now preserved among the episcopal archives of Bobio: "On the same day, after the mid-day meal, he went to visit a place where stood in ancient times the parish church of St. Michael, called after the cave of St. Columban. On his way to the said parish church of St. Michael he first paid a visit to a cross in the marble rock about six cubits in height, carved, which, as the story goes, is the cross at which St. Columban used to pay his devotions."¹

¹ "Eadem die post prandium accessit ad visitandum locum ubi antiquitus erat ecclesia parochialis Sancti Michaelis appellata de Spelunca Sancti Columbani. . . . Eundo ad dictam parrochialem ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis prius visitavit crucem in petra marmorea altitudinis cubitorum sex in circa insculptam quæ ut dicitur est crux ad quam orationem faciebat Sanctus Columbanus."

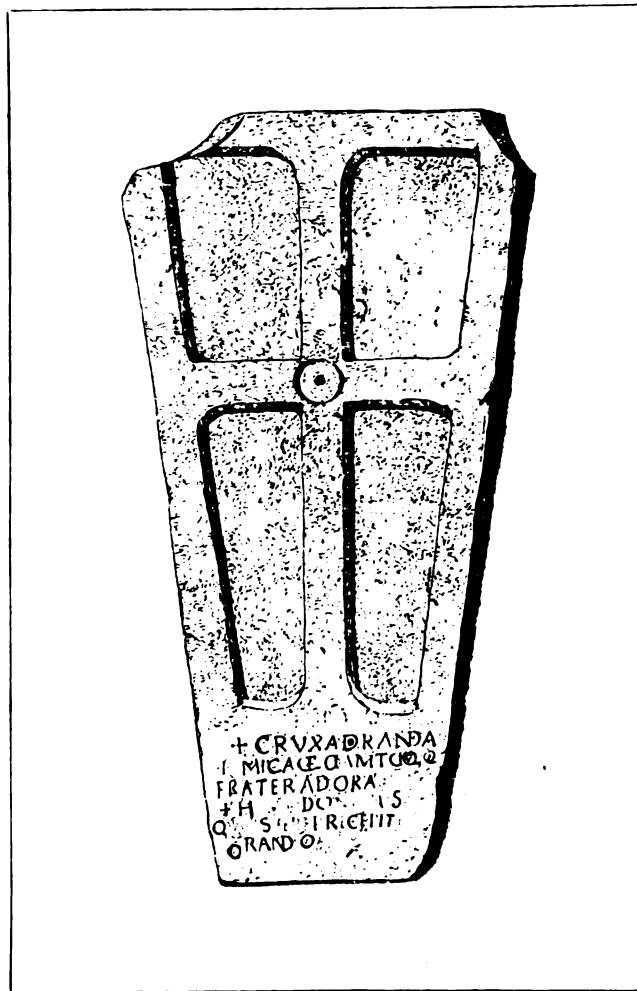


Fig. 74.—CROSS AT COLL.

A much defaced and almost illegible inscription runs along the base of this cross, which P. Remondini reads as follows:—

“ ✠ CRUX ADORANDA
 ✠ (*Crucem*) MICAELICAM TU QUOQUE
 FRATER ADORA
 ✠ HINC DOMNUS
 QUIVIS FERRE PRECEPIT
 ORANDO.

This may be rendered: *Adorable Cross*, referring to its title. Then, regardless of errors in prosody, the two following verses sounding like hexameters signify: ‘Brother, do thou also adore the cross of St. Michael. Every bishop praying from this place has made this, as it were, his precept to thee.’ That is, May every bishop and prelate beginning from St. Columban, who shall worship at this place, take up his cross as if from him.

To prove the correctness of this reading, it should be observed that at the head of the second line in the sketch the traces of a cross are visible, which are also apparent in the original. Such a cross is required for two reasons in this place. One, that it should correspond with the other lines commencing with a cross which form the inscription, and the other to take the place of the word “Cross”—that which is to be the object of adoration. Then it should be noticed that a group of letters which may be deciphered as a semigothic E, an L, and an I runs across the MICA and CAM.

As to the date of this inscription Remondini asks, Can we believe that it belongs to the time of St. Columban? and answers, Certainly not. The second hexameter precludes the notion of such a great age. The stone itself with the cross incised upon it may well be considered as belonging to that early date, and there is no reason to doubt the tradition which maintains that it is of this age. But *not* the inscription. And as Monsignor Aulario, who saw the stone in 1603, takes no notice of this

inscription, while carefully describing the stone and the cross, we may conclude that it did not exist in his time, but was added after the year 1603. Sepulchral slabs of this peculiar form have been found on other occasions at San Michèle and in the bed of the torrent Coriasca; but they have not the cross incised upon the surface. The stone is of the granite belonging to the district.

When I visited the kindly priest who has charge of this stone at the church of SS. Vito e Modesto at Coli, and had made a rubbing of the monument with his assistance, I did not forget to ask him whether he had ever been able to identify the little flower *Erbilia* which was said to have sprung up on the bare rock and footsteps of St. Columban, but he could not enlighten me on the subject. I then inquired of Mr. F. W. Burbidge in Dublin, whose learning as a scientific botanist does not preclude a large sympathy with the poetic legends that have sprung up around his subject. I am indebted to him for the following memoranda, which may help the devout inhabitants of Coli and Bobio, as well as future pilgrims to the grave of Columban, to identify this plant.

“The idea that flowers spring up from the footsteps of the good is a very old one, and we find allusions to it in the writings of Scott, of Wordsworth, and of Ruskin. Indeed, legends of the spontaneous growth of flowers and fruit prevail in many parts of the world. Many such have sprung up in India about the flowering and seeding bamboos (tree grasses). These plants only flower once every thirty years, and then do so simultaneously, which gives an air of mystery to the occurrence, and, as the seed is nutritious, people have held that they were miraculously fed when this flowering and seeding took place in times of famine.

“The seemingly spontaneous production of wild plant-food during years of scarcity, as in the case of the *Pisum maritimum*, is alluded to in the following extract from Gerard's 'Herbal':—

"I finde mention in Stowe's Chronicle, in anno 1555, of a certaine Pulse or Pease, as they term it, wherewith the poore people, at that time there being a great dearth, were miraculously helped; he thus mentions it: In the moneth of August (saith he), in Suffolk, at a place by the sea side all of hard stone and pibble, called in those parts a shelve, lying betweene the townes of Orford and Aldborough, where nether grew grasse, nor any earth was ever seene; it chanced in this barren place suddnely to spring up without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of Peason, whereof the poore gathered (as men judged) aboute an hundred quarters, yet remained some ripe and some blossoming, as many as ever there were before: to the which place rode the Bishop of Norwich and the Lord Willoughby, with others in great number, who found nothing but hard rockie stone the space of three yards under the roots of these Peason: which roots were great and long, and very sweet."

Alphonse De Candolle (of Geneva), in his "Origin of Cultivated Plants" (English translation, 1884), p. 328, under "Field Pea—*Pisum arvense* L.," says: "Bobio has a legend (A.D. 930¹) in which it is said that the Italian peasants called a certain seed *herbilia*, whence it has been supposed to be the modern *rubiglia*, or the *Pisum sativum* of botanists.² The species is cultivated in the East, and as far as the north of India.³ It is of recent

¹ Muratori, "Diss.," 24, describes the cultivation of various seeds which have preserved their ancient names in Italy, and among others, speaking of the *Pisis*, he observes: "I Modenesi appellano questo legume Rudea, di cui abbiamo un' altra specie appellata dai nostri Villani, e dagli Spagnuoli *Arveja*, e da' Fiorentini *Rubiglia*, voce che il Menagio malamente trasse da Lupino, perchè probabilmente viene dall' *Ervilla* di Varrone. Il Monaco di Bobio, che circa l'anno 930 scriveva i Miracoli di San Colombano presso il Mabilone ne' Secoli Bened. scrive così: Legumen Pis (lego Pisi) quod Rustici Herbiliam vocant. Da *Herbilia* venne *Rubilia*; ei Modenesi ne formarono *Erviglia*, poscia *Erveja*, o *Arveja*." The habitats of this flower are also given by Caruel, "Fl. Toscan.," p. 184; Gussone, "Fl. Sic. Synopsis," ii., p. 279; Morio, "Fl. Sardo," i., p. 577.

² Muratori, "Antiq. Ital.," i., p. 347; Diss., 24.

³ Boissier, "Fl. Orient.," ii., p. 623; Royle, "Ill. Himal.," p. 200.

cultivation in the latter country, for there is no Sanskrit name, and Piddington¹ gives only one name in one of the modern languages."

Whatever may be the date of the introduction of its culture,



Fig. 75.—ERBILIA.

the species is undoubtedly wild in Italy, not only in hedges and near cultivated ground, but also in forests and wild mountainous districts. Bertolini describes its habitats in Italy, "Habui ex districtu Veronensi in campis montanis prope vicum."

¹ Piddington, "English Index to Plants of India."

DUNGAL AT PAVIA.

AUTHORITIES.

Muratori, "Antiq. Ital." tom. iii., diss. 43, c. 815, 818. Tiraboschi, "Storia Litt.," etc., tom. iii., l. iii., cap. 1. Martene, "Coll. ampliss.," tom. vi., col. 811. Colgan, "A.SS.," pp. 256, 257. D'Achery, "Spic.," t. x., p. 143. Lanigan, "Eccl. Hist.," vol. iii., p. 256. Healy, J., D.D., "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars," p. 381.

BEFORE we enter on the ninth century, it may be well to review the order and sequence in which these Irish saints appeared in Italy. They came to the front at a crisis in the intellectual history of Europe of no little moment, when the consummation was approaching of the final ruin of the ancient Roman and barbaric world and the formation of a new era. Beginning in the sixth century, we find that while Frediano was still working in his school at home, Ireland had sent forth another missionary of lesser fame, S. Ursus,¹ who, passing through Switzerland, crossed from Coire (Chur), by way of St. Bernard, to the Val d'Aosta, where he founded the church now dedicated to his memory. He died circa 550, ten or fifteen years before Frediano was raised to the bishopric of Lucca. The great Columban was also born about the time of Frediano's departure from his native land, and was at the court of King Agilulph on the occasion of his first visit to Italy, in the year of Frediano's death. Contemporary with Columban was another pilgrim, whose original name is forgotten, but who is commemorated as S. Pellegrinus;² he penetrated to the Holy Land, and fasted forty days in the very desert where his Saviour had been led by

¹ S. Ursus, A.D. 500-550.

² Pellegrinus, A.D. 553 to 643.

the Spirit to endure the great moral strife and trial of his human nature. Then returning through Egypt, he sailed thence to Italy, and landed at Ancona, whence he journeyed to Lucca, and sought repose among the fastnesses of the mountains in the district of Garfagnana in the Apennines. He was succeeded by Cathaldus,¹ born in Waterford about the year 618, who also went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and who, returning by Taranto, became bishop of that place about the year 680. He was joined by Donatus his brother, who founded the church of Lecce in the kingdom of Naples. About twenty years after his death (circa 720), the aged Bishop Cummian² came from Ireland to end his days in the monastery of Bobio, and fifty years after his death the names of the learned teachers, Clemens and Albinus, appear in history. They lived in the reign of Charlemagne, and arrived in France about the year 772. The story of their first appearance there is told by an old writer of the ninth century, a monk of St. Gall, and though its authenticity is questioned by many, it is accepted by Muratori, Ussher, Ozanam, Mr. Haddan, and Dr. Lanigan, and may be given as follows:—

“When the illustrious Charles began to reign alone in the west, and literature was everywhere almost forgotten, it happened that two Scots of Ireland, Clemens and Albinus, came over with some British merchants to the shores of France. These Scots were incomparably skilled in human learning and in the Holy Scripture. As they had not merchandise for sale, they used to cry out to the crowds flocking to the churches, ‘If anyone is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us and receive it, for we have it to sell.’³ Their reason for saying that they had it to sell was that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles, and not to take anything gratuitously, they might rouse them to the acquisition of wisdom as well as of objects of value; or, as the sequel showed, that by speaking in that manner they might excite their wonder and

¹ Cathaldus, A.D. 620 to 680.

² Cummian, circa 630 to 720.

³ It is more than probable that the scene of merchandise related above took place in the atrium of some church in Gaul. The portico of the church at that period was the place where moneychangers and speciosi pursued their trades. See p. 83, *supra*, where this custom is described.

astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often, that the fame of their words was spread abroad either by their admirers or by others who thought them insane, till it reached King Charles. He being a lover of wisdom, and very desirous of its attainment, ordered them to be led before him without delay, and asked them if the report was true that they did really possess wisdom.

"They answered that it was so, and that they were ready in the name of the Lord to communicate it to any such as would seek it worthily. Then the king inquired of them what compensation they would expect, and they replied that they required nothing more than a convenient situation, ingenuous minds, and, as they were in a foreign country, to be supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having heard their proposal, was filled with joy, and kept them with himself for some time. At length, when he was obliged to depart on a military expedition, he ordered Clemens to remain in France, confiding to his care a number of the nobles' children, as well as those of the middle classes and lower ranks, who by his order were all provided with food and suitable habitations."

At a subsequent period Albinus was sent as an ambassador from the court of King Charles to Pope Adrian,¹ and when Charles afterwards took possession of the city of Pavia, he sent Albinus there, assigning to him the monastery of St. Augustine in that city, where all who desired instruction might resort to him for it. This must have been about the year 774. Nothing is known of his subsequent life except that he is said to have continued to teach there, and that he died in that city. Some writings have been attributed to him, which cannot, however, now be recognised.²

¹ "Post hæc conjunxerunt ad Sedem Apostolicam missi sæpius dicti Caroli Excellentissimi Regis Francorum et Patricii Romanorum, id est, Georgius Sanctissimus Episcopus, Gulfardus Religiosus Abbas, et consiliarius, seu ALBINUS Deliciosus ipsius Regis, inquirentes si præfatus Longobardorum Rex abstultas civitates, et omnes justitias Beati Petri reddidisset, sicut false in Franciam dirigebat, assisens si omnia reddidisset."—Anastasius, "Bibl. de Vitis Rom. Pont.;" Muratori, "Rerum. Ital. Script.," tom. iii., pt. 1, p. 184.

² Ware says, speaking of Albinus, "Some of his epistles are extant, and, as I think, certain rhetorical rules." Hoveden says that Albinus writ against

These stray pilgrims from the wild shores of their western island each in his own time had seen Italy pass through strange convulsions, changes of race, invasions of new religions, new customs, that all left their impress in after years upon the arts and religion of Europe. Recovered to the Eastern empire under the great Justinian, the Lombard invasion in the beginning had crushed the spirit of the people. Then the Eastern empire began to wane under the assaults of the Saracens, and Italy was finally separated from its sway. The Franks are called in, and the coronation of Charlemagne in the year 800 marked the restoration of the empire of the West, which in 476 Zeno had made one with the empire of the East.

The kingdom of Lombardy had ceased to exist when Charlemagne, entering Italy, besieged King Desiderius in Pavia, and taking him prisoner, added his kingdom to his own territories in 774. So long as Charlemagne lived, Italy enjoyed a brief season of stillness. When he died, his vast empire began to fall to pieces; each state followed out its separate destiny. His successor, Louis the Pious, associated his three sons with himself in the government of the empire, dividing his dominions among them from time to time, but it was in vain that he strove to appease their ambition. On his death these sons, who had perpetually fought and plotted against him, warred the more fiercely one with another.

The history of literature at such a period naturally possesses all the interest that belongs to the story of any ardent struggle against the forces of barbarism.¹ "Such were the perils of these stormy times," writes Ozanam, speaking of the schools of this period, "that these institutions, however strong, were still unsure of permanence in teaching. Unrestrained barbarity made irruptions into the church; bloodthirsty men, evil and simoniacal priests took possession of the bishoprics and abbeys, closed the schools, and made use of their revenues for their bands of men and horses. Evils so great demanded the intervention of the

the Decree of the Second Nicene Council, which established image worship in 792. Our Albinus died in St. Augustine's monastery at Pavia, says Nicholas Crusenius ("Monast. Augustin.," par. 2, cap. 13).

¹ "Documens ineditis."

two powers, temporal and spiritual, by which the Christian world was ruled.”¹ In 825 the Emperor Lothair, carrying out the idea of his ancestor Charlemagne, issued an edict, the tenour of which is as follows :—

EDICT OF LOTHAIR.²

“As regards true teaching, which through the extreme carelessness and indolence of certain superiors is on all sides shaken to its very foundations, it has pleased us that all should observe that which we have established, knowing—That persons charged by our orders with teaching in those places hereafter indicated, should throw all their zeal into securing the progress of their disciples, and should apply themselves to science as the present necessity demands. However, we have laid out for this exercise certain places, chosen in such a manner that neither distance nor poverty may any more serve as an excuse to the people. We desire then that at Pavia, and under the superintendence of Dungal, all students should assemble from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti, Como.”

We have now to learn something more of the history of this Dungal, who was placed in such a responsible position in the city of Pavia. Dungal himself informs us that he was an Irishman in a poem in praise of Charlemagne, which commences :

“These verses the Irish exile sends to King Charles.”

But there is no record of the particular place in Ireland from which he came, neither is it known to what family he belonged.

Dr. Healy, in his work on “The Ancient Schools of Ireland,” after stating, on the authority of Muratori, that it was Dungal that presented the psalter of Bangor to Bobio, takes the fact of his possession of this MS. as an indication that he came from Bangor, the school that had produced Columban, Gallus, and Malachy.

Lanigan comes to the same conclusion and adds the following passage in Ware (“Irish Writers,” book i., p. 57, Harris, ed.

¹ See Appendix VII. F. Ozanam on “Schools of Italy in the Dark Ages.”

² Pertz, “Monum. Germ.,” leg. i., 249; Muratori, “Antiq. Italic.,” t. iii., diss. 43. See Appendix VIII.

1764): "To this may be added a passage out of Erick of Auxerre, 'that almost all Ireland, with a vast train of philosophers, removed to France in the ninth century,' driven away, no doubt, by the cruelties and devastations of the Danes, who miserably infested Ireland during that period; and probably our Dungal was one of the refugees upon the occasion; and this is further confirmed by the writer of the life of St. Buo (Colgan, A.S.S.), who in reckoning up those who in this age had been obliged to forsake their country to avoid the fury of the Danes, mentions John Erigena and Dungal the Divine as two, among others, who took shelter in France."

We first hear of Dungal as a recluse in St. Denis in the year 810, when it is said that an extraordinary phenomenon occurred. The sun was twice eclipsed in one year. Charlemagne asked Waldo the abbot to desire his Irish monk, Dungal, to write an explanation of the portent. Dungal's letter on the subject is exceedingly interesting; it is entitled, "Epistola Dungalii Reclusi, de duplici solis eclipsi, anni 810, ad Carolum Magnum."¹ It contains passages which prove that Dungal was well acquainted with the works of Virgil, Cicero, and other classical authors. He starts with an explanation of the celestial sphere according to the Ptolemaic system. He accounts for the eclipses of the sun and moon by saying that the zodiac, or space through which the planets revolve, is bounded by two lines, which he takes care to explain are imaginary. "A third line drawn between them is called the ecliptic, because when the sun and moon, during their revolution, happen to be in the same straight line in the plane of this ecliptic, an eclipse of one or the other must of necessity take place; of the sun, if the moon overtake it in its course—*ei succedat*; of the moon, if, at the time, it should be opposite to the sun. Wherefore the sun is never eclipsed except the moon is in its 30th day, and in like manner the moon is never eclipsed except when it is near its 15th day. For only then it comes to pass that the moon, when it is full, being in a straight line with the earth opposite to the sun, receives the shadow of the earth; while, in the other case, when the moon overtakes the sun, or is in conjunction, it deprives the earth of the sun's light

¹ See D'Achery, "Spic.," tom. x., p. 143.

by its interposition. Therefore, when the sun is eclipsed, the sun itself suffers nothing, only we are robbed of its light; but the moon suffers a real loss by not receiving the sun's light, through which it is enabled to dispel our darkness."¹

"After the writing of this epistle," says Dr. Healy,² "we lose sight of Dungal for several years. Charlemagne died in 814, and was succeeded by his son, Louis the Pious, and on the 31st July, 817, Louis associated with himself his son Lothair in the imperial government. Lothair, young and energetic, was crowned King of Lombardy in 821, and in the next year proceeded to put his kingdom in order. The warlike Lombards, though conquered by Charlemagne, and kept in restraint by his strong arm, were a restless and turbulent people. Lothair, trusting in the power of education and religion, induced Dungal and Claudius of Turin, as well as several other scholars of the imperial court or the famous Palacc school, to accompany him to Italy. Claudius, a Spaniard by birth, was made Bishop of Turin, and Dungal the Irishman was placed at the head of the school at Pavia."

At the close of the eighth century the war with the Iconoclasts had spread from Constantinople to Italy; this was some years before Dungal was established at Pavia, but as in the year 825 he took an active part in the contest, we must retrace our steps, and say a few words here on the history of this movement.

About the year 790, Pope Hadrian is said to have sent to Charlemagne a Latin translation of the Acts of the Synod at Nice, held in 787, written originally in Greek, of which Charlemagne's copy was an inaccurate translation.³ At this synod the Council accepted the teaching propounded by Hadrian I. in

¹ "Ireland's Ancient Schools," J. Healy, D.D., p. 384.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

³ The Latin translation of the Acts of the Synod at Nice appears to have been imperfect. Anastasius, the Roman librarian, declares that the translator knew very little of the genius either of the Greek or of the Latin language. The learned men summoned by Charlemagne, at whose head was Alcuin, found in this translation many things to censure in which they were right, and many other things they censured in which they were clearly wrong. The result of their labours in the matter is contained in the famous Caroline Books. They were published under the name of Charles himself, but Alcuin is generally regarded as the real author.

his letter to the Empress Irene. On the arrival of this letter, Charles summoned his royal theologians about him, and Theophylact and Stephen, two bishops of great note, held a synod of Frank and German bishops at Frankfort in the year 794, "wherein," says Platina, "that which the Greeks called the Seventh Synod, and the Felician heresy touching the destruction of images, was condemned. Three hundred bishops of the Frankish empire are said to have assembled here." Charlemagne presided in person on this occasion. The synod met in the great hall of the imperial palace. The emperor was on his throne, the bishops were seated round in a circle, an immense throng of priests, deacons, and clerics filled the hall. Rising up from his seat, Charles advanced, and, standing on the step of his throne, spoke mainly on the heresy of the Adoptionists, but referred also to the errors he believed to exist in the Acts of the Nicene Council, as he understood them in the garbled version of the Greek original with which he had been furnished. The result was that, after ten days' discussion, the prelates of Frankfort censured the decisions of the Council of Nice as regards the honour due to sacred images, attributing to the Nicene fathers errors which they never taught. The Frankish theologians admitted that the images of the saints may be retained for adorning churches and as memorials of the past, though it was not lawful to worship them even with such veneration as is paid to men. Pope Hadrian died on Christmas day, 795, and the controversy concerning image worship seems to have been lulled for some years in the west. It broke out again in 824, when the Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, sent an embassy bearing letters and presents to Rouen, where Lothair then held his court. Michael in his letters, complaining of the excesses of the image worshippers at Constantinople, sued for assistance from Lothair, and begged him to use his influence with the Pope. Lothair, resolved to aid in the good work of reconciling the extreme parties in the east, wrote to Pope Eugenius II. to that effect, and asked permission to appoint a conference of prelates of his empire to examine the question thoroughly. The Pope apparently consented to this course, and the conference met at Paris on the 1st November, 825.

The members of this conference appear to have introduced

fresh misunderstandings and new elements of discord into the controversy. They based their observations on mistranslations of Hadrian's letter to Constantine and Irene, and misrepresentations of the teaching of the Council of Nice. They misquote St. Augustine, and claim his authority against image worship, adding that nothing made by the hand of man is to be worshipped or adored.

The Emperor Lothair, on receiving the documents from the Frankish prelates by the hands of their deputies, Halitgar and Amalarius, pronounced that their letter to the Pope contained some things that were superfluous and more that were impertinent. And then he commissioned Jeremias of Sens and Jonas of Orleans to make extracts of the least objectionable portions of the documents, and he himself wrote a respectful letter to the Pope, urging him to send ambassadors to the Greek court, adding that he might send with them the two bishops who bore the report of the Paris conference to his holiness, and that thus he might be instrumental in restoring peace to the churches in the east.

The Pope so far complied with the request of Lothair as to send an embassy to Constantinople, and just at this crisis Dungal appeared upon the scene. He had then been for some years in Italy. The Spaniard Claudius, once in high favour at the Frankish court, was in secret the follower of Felix, Bishop of Urgel in Spain, and one of the leaders of the Adoptionist heretics; and, besides this heresy, he also was infected with the most extreme form of Iconoclasm.

This man had been appointed to the see of Turin by Louis the Pious (A.D. 816), and when once established there had thrown off his mask. Entering the cathedral, he took away the crosses, tore down the holy paintings on the walls, broke the images of the saints, and denounced their worship or that of their relics; while also condemning the custom of pilgrimages to Rome and other holy places. About 824, his friend, Abbot Theodemir, wrote a remonstrance to Claudius, adjuring him by their former friendship to discontinue his wild course, reminding him how unworthy it was of a Christian bishop to dishonour the saints of God, to insult the cross of Christ and the images of his saints and martyrs. But this gentle remonstrance of the

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good abbot only drew forth a furious reply in the form of a letter from Claudius, entitled, "Apologeticum atque Rescriptum Claudii Episcopi adversus Theutmirum Abbatem," in which he inveighed against any veneration whatever of images or of the cross, and against the invocation of saints and the celebration of their festivals.

This was the work that called forth the treatise of Dungal against Claudius, entitled, "Dungali Responsa contra Perversas Claudii Taurinensis Episcopi Sententias," much the most important work of the writer.¹ It was composed some years after the question had been carefully discussed by the light of the works of the fathers of the Church. The French prelates stood aloof; Agobard of Lyons even sided with Claudius, and the teacher educated in Ireland took the field alone against the mistake of the Frankish theologians.

Dungal accuses Claudius of impiously teaching that Christians are as much idolaters as the Gentiles who worship idols through the instigation of the devil, and shows how false an accusation this is to bring against men who, seeing the saints to be loved and honoured by God, paint images of them and of Jesus Christ, thereby showing their love and reverence for the Saviour and Redeemer of the world and His elect.

Dungal commences by quoting a passage from his opponent's work. He selects three propositions of his adversary, and points them out as forming the foundation of his false dogma: that we ought not to have images, or to render worship to the cross, or to honour the relics of the saints—Claudius even condemning pilgrimages to their tombs. Dungal refutes these errors with firmness, not so much by reasons and argument, as by the authority of the fathers both Greek and Latin, whom he brings forward to show that the tradition and practice of the Church have always been in an opposite direction. The first authority he quotes is that of the Council of Paris; he lays particular stress on the evidence of the Christian poets, from

¹ Muratori observes of this work, that it proves Dungal to have been a man of wide culture: "Accomplished, too, in sacred literature, and at the same time thoroughly trained in grammatical laws and in the elegancies of style, as will readily appear to anyone who reads him." See Lanigan, vol. iii., ch. 20.

whose writings he gives extracts, namely, Prudentius, S. Paulinus of Nola, and Fortunatus of Poitiers. It is through these quotations that posterity has been made acquainted with the several poems by Paulinus, and the little episode of S. Satyr, brother of S. Ambrogio of Milan, of whom there was no previous knowledge; and he maintains that Claudius, by denying that saints ought to be honoured, has renewed the errors of Eunomius and Vigilantius. Then, coming to the veneration of the cross, he says that Christians, imitating the apostles, placed their glory in it; that our Saviour did not intend that His passion should be concealed from the faithful as ignominious, but that the memory of it should be constantly cherished, and he brings forward many authorities proving that at all times of the Church the cross has been honoured. As to the invocation of saints, he observes that if the apostles and martyrs could, while in this world, pray efficaciously for others, how much more so can they do it after their crowns and victories and triumphs? He opposes to Claudius several passages of the fathers in support of his position.¹

Dungal concludes his essay by saying that the true children of the Church are well justified in their reverence for the cross, and holy images and relics of the saints, and the fitting honour in which they held them, without sacrificing to them or offering to them one tittle of the worship due to God alone. Hence we see that Dungal wished that images might be held in the same veneration that the Gallican Church had shown to the cross and relics of the saints. Such was also the feeling of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, and Walafrid Strabo in the same century. Finally, Dungal observes that it is said in the Book of Kings, "And it came to pass, as they were burying a certain man, behold they spied a band of men, and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha, and when the man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood up on his feet."² "Therefore," says Dungal, "most certain and plain it is that the sacred paintings, the holy cross of God, and the remains of God's elect, ought to be venerated with suitable honours by the Catholics and orthodox. Not that, in sacrificing

¹ See Migne, "Latin Patrol.," vol. cv., p. 527.

² 2 Kings xiii. 21.

to them, the divine honours and the reverence due to the only God, Creator of all things, is to be paid to them, but that the emblems and holy vessels should each of them be venerated by all the faithful and religious, to His love, honour, praise, and glory." Then he asks, how can Claudius, as a bishop hating the cross of God, destroying, injuring, and insulting the offices of the Church, practise baptism, bless the holy chrism, give the benediction, or how can he consecrate, or celebrate mass, without the use of that saving sign, wanting which these holy offices and religious observances cannot be decently fulfilled? As St. Augustine says, in his exposition of the Gospel of St. John, "What is it that all recognize as the sign of Christ but the cross of Christ, or what symbol except this is used on the foreheads of the believing, or on the water by which they are regenerated, or on the oil by which they are anointed, or on the sacrifice by which they are strengthened?" "How can he be held a Christian, I ask, who opposes and hates these practices of the Catholic church, and who is opposed to the commemoration or mention of the saints, and who refuses to celebrate their anniversaries, as if he held them to be empty observances and useless customs. As Claudius forbids Christians to light torches or wax tapers in the churches during the day, and in praying to turn their eyes to the ground as if God were not everywhere, and this were not a sign of humility and devotion. As it is written in the Gospel concerning the publican, he would not so much as lift up his eyes unto heaven; also Stephen, praying for those who stoned him, kneeled on the ground; also Paul is described as having prayed, lying prostrate on the ground. Through his perversity Claudius refused to go up to the convention of the bishops, calling their synod a congregation of asses. But the members of the congregation had been too patient; they ought not to have passed over these things so long, or to have spared such an injurious man, nor submitted to such a deadly pest, who, as the apostle says, pleases not God, and is an enemy of all men. But I, moved by his scorn of the divine cross, and greatly stirred up with zeal, cannot turn a deaf ear to his blasphemy towards the saints, since contempt of them is injury to Christ, who hath said, 'He that despiseth you despiseth Me.'

The numerous quotations from Greek and Latin poets which occur in this treatise on Iconoclasm, as well as in Dungal's epistle to Charlemagne on the solar eclipses, show that he had a strong love for poetry. Mabillon discovered some acrostic verses in a MS. preserved at St. Remi, which, though written under a feigned name, he believed to be the work of Dungal. Many other short poems have been attributed to him, which are published by Dom Martene and Dom Durand in 1729, in the sixth volume of their collection.¹ What adds weight to this conjecture is, that almost all these pieces were written at St. Denis in the time of Charlemagne, and that in some of them the poet speaks of himself as an Irish stranger. He does this especially in the first piece, which is the longest as well as the most beautiful of all. This is a poem in heroic verse in praise of Charlemagne, in which the poet pauses to offer a prayer for the prince, and offers a eulogy on poetry in general. The work, which is not complete, concludes with a description of the war made by Charlemagne on Duke Tassilo, and the pardon granted to him after his subjection. Only two events in the life of the prince are described, but the poem was originally intended to extend to greater limits. The following prose translation of the opening lines of this poem may be read with interest.

DUNGAL TO CHARLEMAGNE.²

“ These verses the Irish exile sends to King Charles.

“ While the great men of the world do honour to the king by bringing large and weighty gifts of glittering silver and gold, multitudes of precious stones set in sacred shrines of metal, shining garments and purple robes embroidered in gold, tawny steeds who foam beneath the restraining bridle, whose lofty necks are laden with trappings of barbaric gold. While such tributes are yearly paid to the great King Charles, the Irish exile sendeth verses.

“ Now tell me, O muse! What gifts shall we in like manner

¹ “Versus de Carolo Magno et aliis ex MS. reginæ Sueciæ eruit Mabilonius.”—“Veterum Scriptorum Collectio,” ed. Martene et Durand, 1729.

² “Hos Carolo regi versus Hibernicus exsul.”—Martene, etc., vol. vi., p. 811.

bring, lest we should appear to serve the king in vain? What offering can we give to so great and excellent a father? Let us even now sing songs with wide-resounding voice. Let us utter loud praises from our hearts to our beloved king, and let the whole world resound with our songs of joy. . . . But do you ask of what avail are the verses of our song? Ah, my friend! dost thou not know the names of the Muses, or can it be that scornfully thou despisest their gifts? . . . Tell me now, thou greatest mother of old poets, what spaces of time shall limit our praise of thee? While the starry worlds revolve in their loftiest orbits, while the darkest night is dispelled by their clear radiance, while the gleaming Phosphor rises from the dark depths, while the swift wind lashes the swelling waves, while rivers rush in foaming torrents to the sea, and mountains touch the clouds with their threatening summits, and lowly valleys lie in dewy places beneath the rugged summits of high hills, so long will be heard throughout the ages, the everlasting names of the Muses by whom the glorious deeds of kings are celebrated."

When Dungal wrote his treatise against Claudius he was living in the north of Italy, as master of the great public school established at Pavia by Lothair I., with jurisdiction over all the other subordinate schools which this prince founded in the different cities of Italy. He may have spent his closing years in the Irish monastery of Bobio, to which he bequeathed his library.

"There is every reason to think," writes Dr. Healy (*op. cit.*, p. 392), "that Dungal was buried in the crypts of Bobio. He sleeps well with the friendly saints of Erin; and we earnestly join in his own humble prayer, that he may live for ever with those saints in heaven, even as their dust has long commingled in their far-off graves under the shadows of the Apennines.

"Te precor, Omnipotens quadrati conditor orbis,
Dungalus ut vigeat miles ubique tuus,
Sidereum ut valeat rite comprehendere Olympum,
Cum sanctis vitam participare queat."¹

Dungal is greatly praised by Muratori, Mabillon, Bellarmine,

¹ Muratori, *Dissert.* 43, p. 19; "Classici Italiani," vol. 365.

and others, for his learning, and he was valued both in France and Italy for his varied attainments. Muratori writes, "Dungal carried into Italy the Scotie love of learning, and I was the first to observe that Dungal presented fine copies of books to the very ancient monastery of St. Columban of Bobio, whence copies of these were spread throughout other parts of Italy. The unpublished poems of S. Paolino, that I when a youth brought to light, come from a great codex that belonged to this same Dungal. In connection with this, I have published in the present dissertation a very old catalogue¹ (injured in some places) of the principal codices which once formed the great ornament of the library of Bobio, but which time has scattered elsewhere."

Muratori adds that in one of the MSS. in Dungal's collection bequeathed to Bobio are inscribed these words:—

"Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur.
Qui legis ergo Deus pretium sit muneris, oro."

"Holy Columban, to you a Scot your fellow-countryman Dungal gave over this book, by which may the hearts of the brethren be blessed. Thou therefore who readest this, I pray that God may be the reward of thy task." (See Appendix IX.)

ANTIPHONARY OF BANGOR.

The last book but two upon this list given by Muratori is the Psalterium,² or, as it was named by Muratori, the Antiphonary of Bangor, a book of hymns compiled expressly for the use of the community of Bangor in the county Down. It is written in Latin, but contains the strongest internal evidence of its Irish origin. The MS. remained 800 years in the library of Bobio, until it was removed to Milan by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo when he founded the Ambrosian Library there, and now it is to be seen in that collection. It contains:—

¹ "Antiq. Ital. Dissert.," tom. iii., col. 821.

² See paper on the Antiphonary of Bangor, by Rev. W. Reeves, in "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. i., p. 169.

1. Hymn of St. Hilary on Christ ; a metrical summary of our Saviour's life, designed for the service of Nocturns.
2. Hymn of the Apostles, chiefly commemorative of the Redemption.
3. Three short Canticles.
4. Hymn on the Lord's Day—the Te Deum.
5. Hymn when the Priests communicate.
6. Hymn when the wax-light is blessed.
7. Hymn for Midnight.
8. Hymn on Birthday of the Martyrs, or on Saturday at Matins.
9. Hymn at Matins on the Lord's Day—on the Incarnation.
10. Hymn of Sechnall in praise of St. Patrick.
11. Hymn of St. Comgall our Abbot.
12. Hymn of St. Camelac.
13. Collects for the Canonical Hours.
14. Creed—Lord's Prayer.
15. Fifty-one occasional Prayers.
16. Versicles of the Family of Benchor.
17. Sixteen occasional Anthems.
18. Commemoration of our Abbots.

The fifth hymn on this list, "Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumete," as translated by Dr. Neale, has been adopted in the "Hymns Ancient and Modern" of the English Church.

Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord,
 And drink the holy Blood for you outpoured.
 Saved by that Body and that holy Blood,
 With souls refreshed, we render thanks to God.

Salvation's Giver, Christ the Only Son,
 By His dear Cross and Blood the victory won,
 Offered was He for greatest and for least,
 Himself the Victim, and Himself the Priest.

Victims were offered by the law of old,
 Which in a type this heavenly mystery told.
 He Ransomer from death, and Light from shade,
 Now gives His holy grace His saints to aid.

Approach ye then with faithful hearts sincere,
 And take the safeguard of salvation here.
 He that His saints in this world rules and shields,
 To all believers life eternal yields ;

With heavenly bread makes them that hunger whole,
 Gives living water to the thirsting soul.
 Alpha and Omega, to whom shall bow
 All nations at the Doom, is with us now.¹

This hymn, or, as Dr. Moran calls it, "this golden fragment of our Irish liturgy," dates from the seventh century, and the legend of its origin is too poetic to be passed over unnoticed. "On a certain occasion, while St. Sechnall was offering the holy sacrifice, St. Patrick went to visit him ; and it was when Sechnall had finished the mass except taking the body of Christ, that he heard that Patrick had arrived at the place ;" leaving the altar he prostrated himself at the feet of St. Patrick, and when both subsequently approached the church, "they heard a choir of angels chanting a hymn at the offertory in the church, and what they chanted was the hymn whose beginning is 'Sancti venite, Christi corpus,' etc., so that from that time to the present that hymn is chanted in Erin when the body of Christ is received."²

The martyrologist of Donegal states that St. Patrick erected a church at the place where Secundinus used to pray alone under a leafy tree, and that the sign of the cross is in that place at the well of Mucna in Connaught. And this Sechnall was from Lombardy ; his mother was the sister of Patrick, and his father Restitutus Secundinus. This Sechnall also "chanted a song, a noble solace, in praise of Patrick of Armagh."³

¹ The hymnologist Daniel, in his "Thesaurus," vol. iv., p. 109, has given this hymn, and remarks that there exists a great affinity between the hymn "Sancti venite" and an antiphon used in the early church of Gaul during the Paschal Communion, from which he gives this extract : "Venite populi ad sacrum et immortale mysterium . . . quoniam propter nos agnus Dei Patri sacrificium propositum est." See St. Gregory of Tours, in his treatise "De Miracul. S. Martini," ii., 13.

² See "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," vol. ii., Rolls Series.

³ "Mart. Oengus," Nov. 27.

LETTER FROM PAVIA.

Pavia.

DEAR FRIEND,

SINCE I came to Pavia I have been most unsuccessful in my search for any memorials of our countryman Dungal. I suspect that there are none to be found. He was not a saint, or bishop, or founder of churches, but only a learned monk to whom no shrine was dedicated, and all traces of whose memory have disappeared from the city in which he laboured. Not trusting to my own imperfect knowledge, I was enabled through the kindness of Dr. Ceriani of Milan to communicate with a learned archæologist of Pavia, P. Francesco Maganij, whose answer on hearing of my quest was rather unsatisfactory. "If," he writes to Dr. Ceriani, "your friend is coming to Italy for amusement, she may come to Pavia, where she will find many things to admire, but, if Dungal is her object, she may spare herself the trouble and expense. Except the usual allusions in the histories of Pavia, and especially those of the University, as Galli, Villa, Come, there is no pamphlet that speaks of this ex-professor.

"His name appeared upon the scene a few years ago on the occasion of the meeting of the Congress of Agriculture in this city, when an historical report of the Pavian Athenæum was prepared by certain professors who took the chair, but nothing particular was disclosed about him except the fact that in the

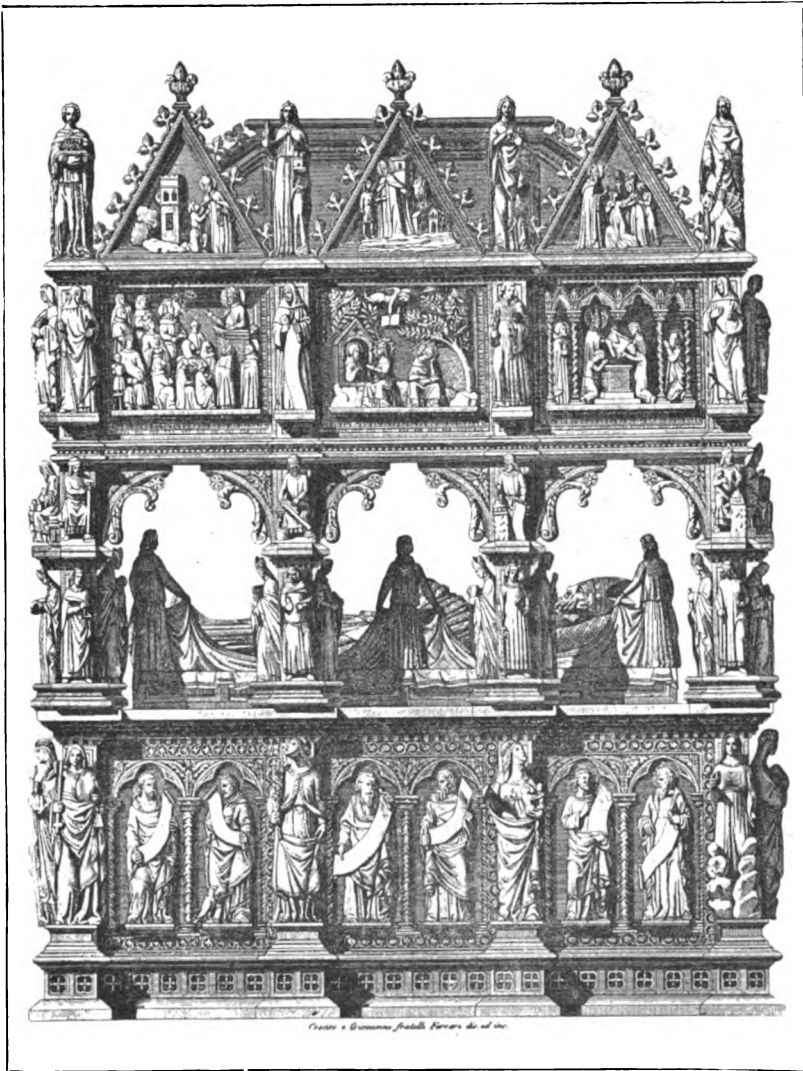


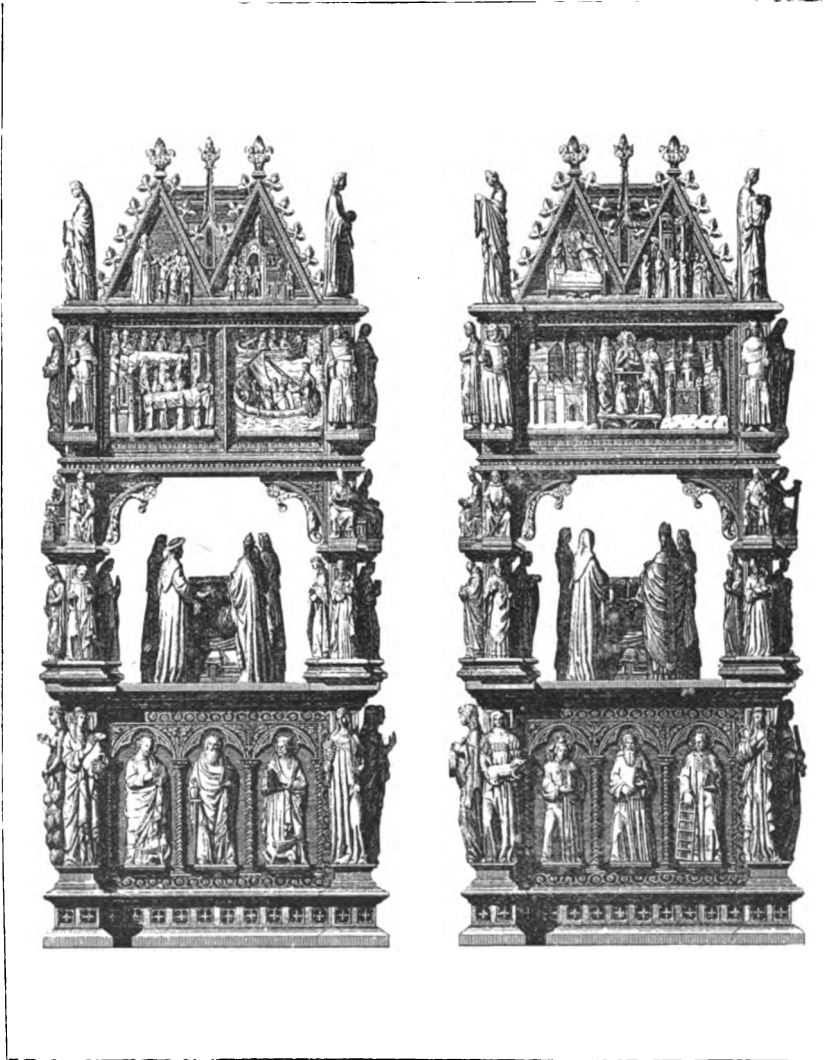
Fig. 76.—TOMB OF ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, PAVIA.

time of Charlemagne and Lothair Dungal was named master in grammar.

“This fact concerning his life rests only upon the *capitolare* Otonese of Lothair, 825, ‘Primum in Pavia conveniunt ad Dungalum de Mediolano, etc.’

“There is no doubt that there was such a master here—no one disputes it—but little remains of him, as you know better than I do.”

Although my visit to Pavia was so far fruitless, yet I found the old city full of charm and interest. The river Ticino, which gave the ancient name Ticinum to Pavia, seems at this point of its course as if it could hardly be the same torrent I had seen the day before bursting wildly through its rocky barriers in the defiles of St. Gothard. Here it expands in all the calm and majesty of middle age, its slow and stately motion scarcely perceptible, while its fair bosom reflects the blue Italian sky as in a mirror. What picturesque groups of peasant women washing on its gravelly banks I saw as I walked by its side, from its covered bridge, with its six irregular arches, round to the station at Porto Borgorato! Yet the country in the midst of which Pavia stands is flat and might be called uninteresting. It did not seem so to Petrarch, who, writing to Boccaccio, says: “Bella quant’ altra mai è la postura di Pavia! Nel bel messo dei Liguri (cioè della Gallia Cisalpina) è collocato questa città che tanto poco sisollewa sul piano quanto basta a poterlo avere soggetto, e distendendosi sul pendio d’un colle leggiermenti inchinato, solleva al cielo le frequenti sue torri tutt’ intorno così libero e vasto avente il prospetto che più grande e più bello io non credo averne possa alcun’ altra situata in pianura.” To Petrarch (whose house is shown near the Malaspina Palace) Pavia was “città saluberrima e sollazzevole quant’ altre mai.” Among the towers described in this passage—and Pavia is still called the city of 100 towers—stood the beautiful



Figs. 77, 78.—TOMB OF ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, PAVIA.

Torre di Boezio, adorned with terra-cotta statues, which was said to be built on the site of the tower in which Theodoric imprisoned the noble-minded Boethius, whose great work, "The Consolations of Philosophy," was written in the time of his incarceration. His bones now lie in the cathedral here, where the bones of St. Augustine of Hippo also are preserved, to which place they were removed in 799. A marvellously beautiful marble shrine was raised above them in the year 1362 by a certain Bonino da Campione. One might spend days studying this monument, every figure in which is a perfect work of art in its way. The twelve apostles and the sacred and cardinal virtues stand around the sarcophagus, at the top of which is the recumbent statue of the saint as he sleeps in death. A canopy rises above him, on the vault of which the vision of Paradise that may have visited his dying eyes is sculptured with marvellous delicacy and feeling. His Saviour and the blessed Mother, and all the company of heaven, thrones, dominations, principalities and powers, angels and archangels, are there portrayed. (See Appendix X.) This tomb was brought from its original resting-place in the basilica of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro along with the relics of Boethius.

"That saintly soul that shows
The world's deceitfulness, to all who hear him,
Is, with the sight of all the good that is,
Blest there.—The limbs whence it was driven, lie
Down in Ciel d'Oro ; and from martyrdom
An exile came it here." ¹

Few cities have sent forth a greater number of enlightened men than Pavia, whether in theology, jurisprudence, literature, or medicine. And their influence extended to England. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born here, and commenced his career as an advocate in the law courts of Pavia. A son of

¹ Dante, "Paradiso," canto x., 124.

Edward III. of England was entombed in the same church, S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, that had received the bones of St. Augustine and Boethius. The ancient monastery of the Augustinians stands to the right of this church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. This monastery should be of interest to an Irish traveller, since

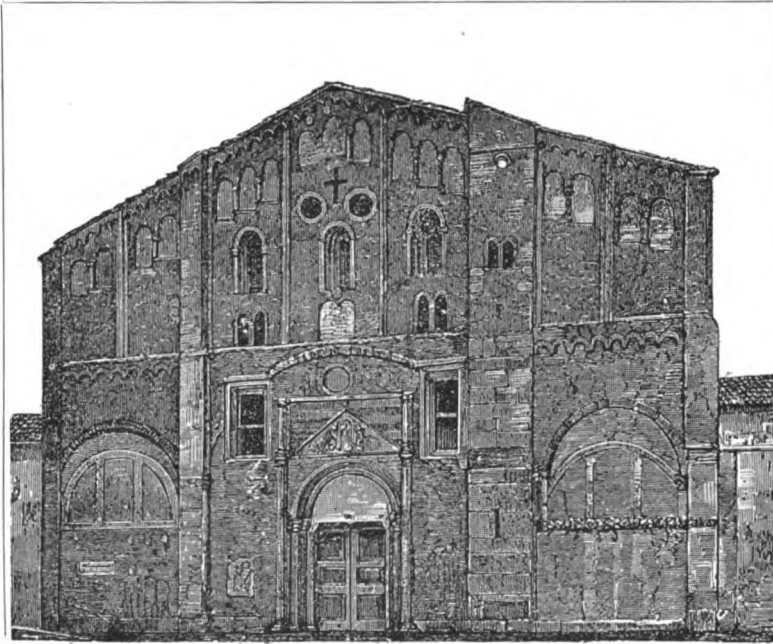


Fig. 79.—S. PIETRO IN CIEL D'ORO, PAVIA.

Albinus was placed by Charlemagne at the head of the school here after he had returned from his embassy to Pope Hadrian. The original dedication appears to have been to St. Peter, but, when Albinus got the grant, the name had been changed to that of St. Augustine in consequence of the translation of the bones

of the saint by King Liutprand. In the present day the church is again called San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. (See Appendix XI.)

The remains of art of the seventh and eighth centuries in Pavia are singularly rare. Portions of sculptured sarcophagi, now lying in the courts of the Palazzo Malaspina, were carved by Lombardic or Byzantine sculptors, who may have been known to Dungal, Albinus, or Cummian. Indeed, there is one slab there which we may well believe was carved by the same hand that wrought the tomb of Cummian for King Liutprand. This slab was the front of the sarcophagus of Teodata, the victim



Fig. 80.—TOMB OF TEODATA, PAVIA.

of the passion of King Cunibert, who died a nun in 720.¹ (See Appendix XII.) This Cunibert was the subject of a poem written some twenty years before by Magister Stefanus, which is one of the few contemporary sources of history we have at this period.²

In the art of these monuments we may trace a strong affinity to that of Cividale in Friuli.³ A border composed of circles intertwined with much elegance, larger and small by turns, enclosing rosettes, vines, and vine leaves, treated with delicacy and skill, forms a cornice to the subjects represented on the face

¹ Muratori, "Annali d'Italia."

² Ugo Balzani, p. 65.

³ See R. Cattaneo, "L'Architettura in Italia," pp. 84, 85.

of the sarcophagus. In one compartment two rude peacocks may be seen drinking from a vase in the midst of roses, lilies, and knot-work; two griffins are seated one at each side of a fantastic tree, like those on the panel of Sigualdo in the baptistry of Cividale. A lamb bearing a cross is at one end

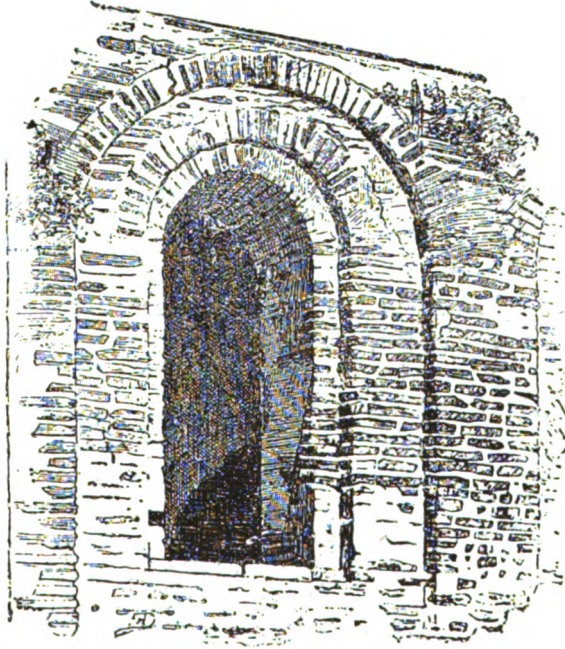


Fig. 81.—STA. MARIA FORIS PORTAM, NOW DELLE CACCIE.
EIGHTH CENTURY.

A portion of one building of the eighth century is still standing at Pavia. It is a brick wall and archway in the side wall of Sta. Maria foris Portam—now Delle Caccie—and was portion of a basilica erected by Epifania, daughter of King

Q

Ratchis (744-749). It is interesting to note this carefully, because no new forms are perceivable here, and it is an additional proof confirming the views of Cattaneo that such was the Byzantine style from the sixth century, and such buildings were the work of Greek hands. The blind arcades running along the external walls of the side aisles corresponding to the internal arcades, precisely resemble those of the Duomo of Grado and of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and other churches of the fifth and sixth century in that city and in Greece.

The University, which is still the chief glory of Pavia, seems to have been planned by Charlemagne, and to have grown into existence after the edict of Lothair, when Dungal was placed at the head of the schools of the north of Italy, affiliated with it in 825. The present building dates from the time of the Visconti, but it was completed by Sforza, and afterwards enlarged and beautified by Maria Theresa and her successors, Joseph II. and Francis I. The courts, porticoes, and galleries are filled with a series of monumental stones, which record the memory of great men who have studied in this Lombardic Athenæum, among whom stands foremost the great Christopher Columbus, who passed some time at Pavia about 1450, that he might learn astrology, cosmography, and other sciences, whereby he was inspired with the idea of the existence of the new world.

But I think nothing that I saw in Pavia at all delighted me in the same degree as the mutilated painting by Borgognone, which is now preserved in the Institute of Fine Arts.

DONATUS, BISHOP OF FIESOLE.

OCT. 22, A.D. 824-874.

Born circa 800.

ANDREW, ARCHDEACON OF S. MARTINO A
MENSOLA.

AUG. 22, A.D. 827-875.

BRIGID, PATRONESS OF S. MARTINO A LO BACO.

FEB. 1, A.D. 875-885.

AUTHORITIES.

"Vita di S. Donato di Scozia," del M. F. da Cattani da Diacceto. Colgan, "A.SS. Hib.," p. 238. Ughelli, "Italia Sacra," tom. iii., col. 312. "ST. ANDREW, Notes on the Life of," by Constantine Caiatano, "A.SS. Hib. Boll.," Aug. 22. Rev. J. O'Hanlon, "Lives of Irish Saints," vol. viii. ST. BRIGID, "A.A.SS. Boll.," Feb. 1. Colgan, "A.SS. Hib." Rev. J. O'Hanlon, *ib.*, vol. ii., p. 236.

THE name of Donatus of Scotia stands high in ecclesiastical dignity as that of one among the early prelates who worthily occupied the chair of Fiesole, and Monsignore Francesco da Cattani da Diacceto, Florentine gentleman and Bishop of Fiesole, has thus recorded his merits¹ :—

"He whose duty it is to guide the young in the way of good works and good actions may well follow the holy footsteps of that most perfect youth Donatus. In him wisdom and learning grew with increase of years, and his memory was stored with all

¹ "Vita di S. Donato," p. 101.

things most worthy. In the government of the flock committed to him, he was diligent as Moses, faithful as Abraham, chaste as Joseph, just as Phineas, courageous in battle as David, and following our Saviour Christ in love and charity.

“He was born in the kingdom of Scotia, of noble parents, sprung from a long line of ancestors, all true to that faith which shone forth in Donatus from his earliest years. To this he added learning, so that he surpassed all his contemporaries, not less in intellect than in devotion, while he shunned the company of wicked men and such as loved vain things, even as the psalmist saith, ‘I have hated the congregation of evil-doers, and will not sit with the wicked.’”

“As the boy grew in wisdom and learning, the memory of his sayings was preserved, even as the pure Virgin preserved the sacred utterances of her Son, as it is written, ‘His mother kept all these sayings in her heart.’ He went forth teaching and directing all who heard his words, thus shedding abroad the light of that knowledge which had been vouchsafed to him, and it was said of him, ‘Yea, he loved the people; all the saints are in his hand; and they sat down at his feet; everyone shall receive his words.’”¹

The subject of this eulogy was born about the year 774 in Ireland, during the reign of Aedh Ornidhe. Many incidental circumstances have given rise to the belief that he was educated at the school of Iniscaltra—Holy Island on Lough Derg. A long metrical life of St. Brigid of Kildare was found in an ancient manuscript in the library of Monte Cassino. The prologue to this poem was written by Donatus of Fiesole, and the poem itself is the work of the writer Caolan, who calls himself a monk of Iniscaltra. There are also certain allusions to Iniscaltra in the body of the poem itself, which suggest that the writer was familiar with this place. “Thus the poet speaks of the wide water of the river Shannon, in which is Keltra with its company of wise men living under the rule of Benedict.”

Mention is made of this monastery in A.D. 548, where it is said in the “Annals of Ulster” and of the “Four Masters”—“Colum of Iniscaltra died”; but the oldest church now on the island is

¹ Deut. xxxiii., 3.

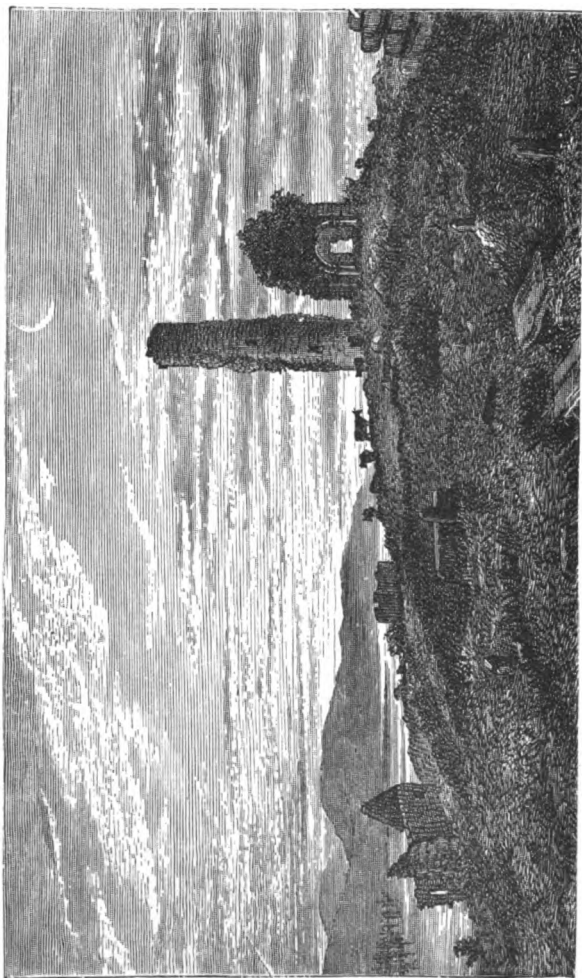


Fig. 82.—HOLY ISLAND, IRISH SCHOOL OF DONATUS.

dedicated to St. Caimin, half-brother of Guaire Aidhne, who died in the year 662. He was of the race of Cathair mor of Leinster, and sought an anchorite's life on this island. He lived there in his solitary cell until the fame of his sanctity attracted crowds of disciples, for whom he erected a noble monastery, which became afterwards famous for the multitude of saints resting there. Some leaves of a psalter, with marginal glosses which in Ussher's day were commonly believed to have been written by St. Caimin, were long preserved in St. Isidore's in Rome, and are now in the Franciscan collection in Dublin. The annalists give the names of five abbots and one anchorite of Iniscaltra. This anchorite, who is called Coscraich, died in 898. A very remarkable group of ruins may still be seen on the island. The church of St. Caimin, with its fine round tower, forms the subject of the landscape from which the accompanying engraving is taken. It is an early example of the Irish Romanesque style.

Among the other remains of the monastery which still exist, is the base of a cross sunk in the ground north-east of a piece of old wall, part of a small chapel, which is called the church of the slain men. There are, besides, two other churches and several sculptured stones without letters, while six stones bearing Irish inscriptions have been found here.

It happened at the time when Donatus was a teacher in Ireland, that there lived in the same country a noble virgin named Brigid, and her brother Andrew, a comely and gallant youth. Andrew was the elder of the two, and her constant guide and counsellor. It was their custom from earliest childhood, when they walked out together on their way to school, as they passed the church door, to pause and enter reverently and pray, which service they also repeated at every hour that they could save from sleep. Nor were there any poor or miserable that did not leave the house of Andrew comforted, so deeply was love to the unhappy rooted in his heart; his parents meanwhile were careful that he should be taught the art of riding, as befitted his high rank. As time passed on, a rumour reached the ear of brother and sister that a great teacher, named Donatus, had arrived from many miles distant, who could still further instruct them in divine philosophy, and

Donatus having already heard of the great promise of this youth Andrew, took him to his school, and soon came to love him as a son. The kindly greeting with which he was received caused Andrew more satisfaction to his heart than he could express, and an old Latin writer has said of these two holy men: "The greatest happiness of Donatus was the instruction of Andrew; the greatest enjoyment of Andrew was in obedience to Donatus."

One day, as they were both standing at the gate outside the city (cashel) walls, discoursing, as was their wont, upon things human and divine, Donatus revealed to his disciple that he had long desired to journey into distant lands, to visit all the holy places throughout Italy, and then to seek a spot where none would know him, so that, far removed from family and friends, he would be free to give up his life to the service of God, desiring to imitate Heraclitus, who ceased not to mourn over human suffering.

Andrew, unable to part from his beloved master, prayed that he might go with him on this journey, and thus these two servants of God determined to depart. So fixed on Heaven were their hearts, that they showed no sorrow in parting, and paid no heed to the opposition of their people.

Great was the grief of Brigid when she learned their project, yet not even her tears could turn them from their course. The unhappy sister said, "Brother dear, why dost thou leave me? When shall we see one another again?" They clung to one another in a close embrace, and their hot tears showed the tender love that bound them. At last, Andrew with much gentleness put his sister from him. "Go in peace," she said, "and pray to God for thy sister, abandoned here in sorrow."

Then the two pilgrims, followed by their friends and families, went down the island to the sea-coast, where they embarked upon a ship whose sails soon swelled in the wind, and bore them to a foreign shore. They had scant money or provision for their journey, since they meant to beg their way from place to place, and having landed, they set off on foot with staff and bag, contented and humble in spirit. They rested at the monasteries where the relics of the saints were kept and honoured, and they often turned aside to visit certain hermitages in almost inaccessible places, where they might hold converse with holy anchorites who

had resigned the world. As throughout their pilgrimage they greatly desired to visit every possible place where a holy sanctuary was to be found, in their careful search for such they came upon the beautiful mountain of Fiesole, where were the shrines of numberless martyrs and many stations of the cross.

In those days the people of Fiesole, having been deprived of a pastor, were in difficulty about the election of a new one, because of the civil discords that had sprung up after the recent devastations of the Northmen. The nobles and the people were at variance, and the state was passing through a crisis of great difficulty and danger. Then the good men of the city prayed fervently to God to the end that he might save their tottering state from civil war and mercifully provide them with a good pastor. Having thus prayed with all their might, the righteous petition of this multitude reached the ear of Him who sleepeth not, and He sent them aid in the following manner, as is related by the old historian of Donatus¹ :—

“It was while the dismayed city of Fiesole was in this condition that the men of God, Donatus and Andrew, had turned thither in their wanderings through Tuscany, and, like other travellers, wearied with the great height they had climbed, and tired with their journey, they entered the hospice as the night closed in. Now it happened that at the moment of their arrival the abbey of Fiesole was filled with a great crowd of people in deep distress because they had been deprived of a pastor’s care. With one voice they implored that He who brought Israel up out of Egypt might protect them with His right hand, and might deign to preserve their church by some angelic visitation. While the people thus prayed aloud, Christ worked a new miracle for them, and brought Donatus and his friend Andrew to the church door.

“As they ascended the steep hill from the river’s side, the bells of the city on the instant rang forth, and the lamps burst miraculously into light of themselves. The people of Fiesole, amazed at this miracle, ran hither and thither through the city

¹ “Donati Episc. Fesulani et Conf. Auctore Blasio Monacho.”—MS. Laurentian Library, Florence. Pluto, Codex ix., Col. 47b.

in all directions and in great confusion, asking in terror what might this portent mean. Impelled by their trust in God, they hurried down the hill to the abbey; men, women, and children of all ages, knelt there in tremblings and sobs and tears, and piously raising their hands to heaven, made prayer to God that He would deign to show them the meaning of this miracle. Suddenly a silence fell upon the multitude, and a voice proclaimed, 'Receive the stranger who approaches, Donatus of Scotia; take him for your shepherd.' When the voice of the Lord had ceased, the people, not knowing what to do, remained in prayer. Then behold the men of God, Donatus and Andrew, having just entered the city, went to the abbey where the congregation were at prayer, and believing it to be a feast day, marvelled to see the dismayed people praying in alarm and suspense. Advancing slowly, they stood in silence awaiting the result.

"Then a certain poor man standing by, and happening to see the strangers, inquired of them whence they came and whither they were bound, and by what name they were called. Donatus, with his usual simplicity, answered humbly, 'We are both men of Scotia. He is named Andrew, I Donatus. We came on pilgrimage to Rome.' And the poor man, remembering the divine voice he had just heard, straightway cried aloud, 'Citizens, the man is here of whom the Lord has spoken.' Then, clasping Donatus in his arms, he led him up the steps, the people crowded around, and cried with one voice, 'Eia Donatus Pater Deodatus! (Hail! Donatus, O Father given of God!) Ascend the bishop's chair, that you may lead us to the stars, that with you for our shepherd we may reach to the pastures of Heaven, and that through your intercession we may find salvation.' Then the gentle Donatus, trembling, and on the very verge of tears, spake thus from his pure heart:—

'Spare ye me,
O brothers! vain is your offering to me;
You would learn to deplore my sins,
You who should not trust me to teach the people.'

¹ The Badia of Fiesole over the river Mugnone.

When he had said these words, the multitude made answer :—

‘As when the eastern sun doth visit us on high,
So hath Christ led him here out of the west ;
Here then let us meet this holy man ;
Here, in Fiesole, let us elect him.
For behold, Donatus is declared worthy
By Christ, Who is our Lord and God.
Let him then be led to the throne,
For Donatus is given us for a father.
If he still strives to resist,
Yet must he still be elected.’

Then Donatus tremblingly said, ‘Men and brethren, why do ye vainly strive to turn from his vows the desire of one who hastens on his journey? Why compel one so unworthy to become your pastor? A stranger mean and abject, half barbarous, and almost ignorant of your manners. Let him toil on that journey on which he started.’ By these and like words, and with much modesty, he strove to avoid the burden, but as he resisted, so much the more vehemently did the multitude insist upon their choice. At length his resistance was overborne by the people, and he was enthroned in the chair of Fiesole.”¹

The Badia, or abbey of Fiesole, where this scene was enacted, stands below the hills of Fiesole, midway on the incline from San Domenico, down to the river Mugnone. This was the original

¹ Ozanam, having described the scene at Donatus’ election, continues in these words: “And thus the laborious traditions of the Irish school were awakened in the episcopal school of Fiesole. We need not, therefore, be astonished, if the old biographer of S. Donatus blends learning with his popular rhymes, Hellenisms that recur to us among the Irish and Anglo-Saxon writers of the barbarous age. He calls the word of God, *Theou Logon*, the Holy Spirit, *Pneuma*, and when the people, excited by the miracle, give glory to the Father, the gravity of the subject again demands a Greek word. *Multa mox in doxa Patris cecinit populus*. Doubtless these examples only prove that Greek was known in Fiesole; at least they make it appear that it was not despised there; that in these dark ages the language of the New Testament, of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom, was considered not as the language of heresy, but as a holy idiom that still held its place in the liturgy from which theology borrowed her sacramental words, a language which men should not be permitted to ignore, and which it was well to introduce at certain periods of their discourse, so as to embue it with an indefinable character of solemnity and mystery. But that which was certainly well-

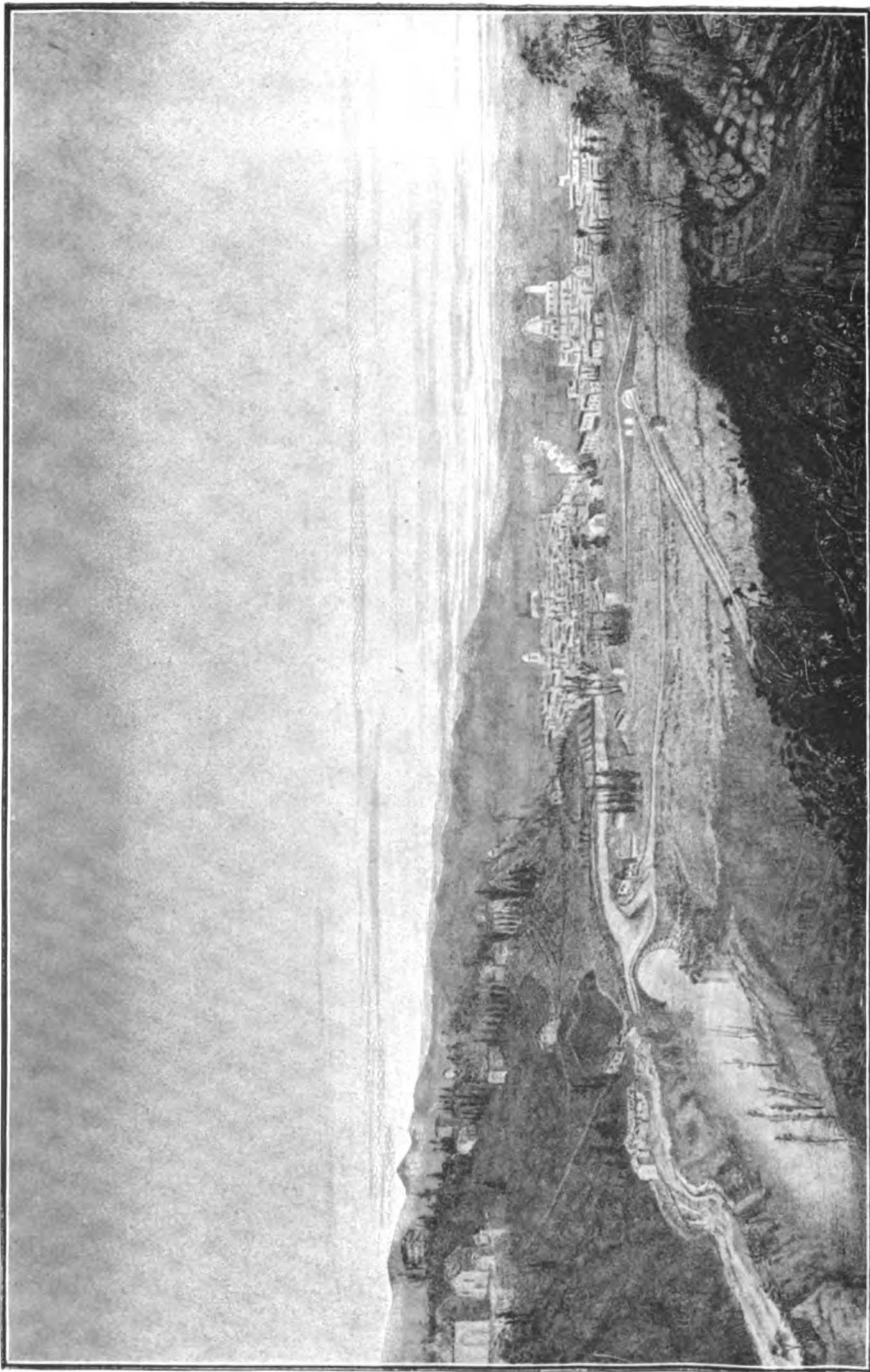


Fig. 83.—THE BADIA OF FIESOLE, WITH FLORENCE IN THE DISTANCE.

church of Fiesole, although it stood outside the walls of that ancient city. It was founded by S. Romolo, in the year of our Lord 60; and though originally dedicated to St. Peter, it was called by the founder's name until the year 1028, when the present cathedral of Fiesole, on the top of the hill above, was erected by Bishop Jacopo Bavaro. Then it was that it ceased to be a cathedral, and became a Benedictine abbey. At the date of our story, about the year 824, six bishops had already filled the see of Fiesole, first of whom was S. Romolo, sent by St. Peter himself about the year 60; then a blank of 400 years occurs in the history of the place, till in 536 Rustico was elected bishop, who was also papal legate in the Council of Constantinople held against Anastasius, patriarch of that city. He was succeeded by S. Leto, who became bishop in 573, who in his turn was followed by Alessandro, Bishop of Fiesole in 582, who died a martyr in 587. The fifth was S. Romano, who occupied the see about the year 590, and was followed by Teodato, bishop in 715. The seventh name on the list is that of S. Donato di Scozia, bishop in the year 824. His election took place at the time when Pope Eugenius held the Roman chair, and Louis the Pious and Lothair reigned together.

After his consecration, writes the old biographer, "Donatus appeared so apt and devoted that it seemed as if he had always filled that office to which he had been lately appointed. For he was liberal in almsgiving, sedulous in watching, devout in

known in Fiesole, and which Donatus did not disdain to teach his disciples, was metrical Latin, the imitation of the Christian poets who had sung in the rhythm of Virgil of the mysteries of the Saviour and of the saints and their crowns. At first the biographer makes use of no other ornament in his narrative than a redundancy of epithets and numerous Biblical quotations. One perceives that it is an effort to the author to restrain his thoughts within the rule of Latin syntax. More than once he betrays himself, and falls into the construction of the vulgar tongue. But as his recital advances, his style changes to something more warm and animated. It still remains prose, but it is a *prose rimée*, prose with rhyme. Classic writers have not disdained this recurrence of the same sound, *homoioteleuta*; rhetoricians in times of decadence have even abused it, and ecclesiastical writers have not always despised an ornament recommended by the schools and favoured by the crowd. The historian of S. Donatus only followed these examples when his tale is unrolled in a long stream of verses, falling in successive couplets with like endings."

prayer, excellent in doctrine, ready in speech, holy in life; his countenance betrayed the serenity of his spirit, and the gentleness of his speech revealed the tenderness of his heart. He would weep bitter tears if any report were brought to him of sin committed by those under his rule, so that he could say with the prophet, 'My tears have been my meat day and night.' In his aspect he was terrible to sinners, mild to penitents, feared in his severity, and revered in his mildness. Happy Scotia, which brought forth such a one; let Hibernia rejoice, which sent forth such a teacher; let Fiesole and the whole province of Tuscany be glad."

"Some tracts," says Dr. Lanigan, "were written by S. Donatus, but none of them, as far as I know, are now extant. Ware mentions some, and it is certain that he was an author." The passage in Ware's "Writers" here alluded to is as follows: "Donat forsook Ireland, and in company with his associate, Andrew, took a journey through France and Italy, and for some time lived the life of a hermit in Hetruria or Tuscany, until he was elected Bishop of Fiesole, A.D. 824, in which office he became very eminent on the score of his great virtues. He is reported to have written, 'De peregrinatione suâ,' Lib. 1, 'De Officio suæ Ecclesiæ,' Lib. 1, 'Commentaria in sacras Scripturas.'"

Three fragments of the writings of Donatus have been preserved. The first is a prologue to the life of St. Brigid of Kildare, in an ancient MS. preserved in the Laurentian Library, Florence. ("Bibl. Mugellanæ," xix., p. 78.)

"Far in the west they tell of a matchless land,
Which goes in ancient books by name of Scotia;
Rich in resources this land, having silver,
Precious stones, vesture, and gold;
Well suited to earth-born creatures as regards
Its climate, its sun, and its arable soil,
That Scotia with lovely fields that flow
With milk and honey,
Hath skill in husbandry, and raiments, and arms, and arts, and fruits;
There are no fierce bears there, nor ever
Has the land of Scotia brought forth savage
Broods of lions. No poisons hurt, no serpent
Creeps through the grass, nor does the babbling frog

Croak and complain by the lake. In this land
 The Scottish race are worthy to dwell, a renowned race of men
 In war, in peace, in fidelity. Here was born in former days
 The most holy virgin,
 Brigid, glory of the Scots ; her name, her honour,
 A tower reaching to the highest points of the flame-bearing heaven,
 An inexhaustible light, a noble crown of God,
 A blessed fountain rejoicing, reforming the hearts of the Scots ;
 While recreating them, she takes care of herself, she feeds, she grows ;
 A ladder prepared for men, excellent for youths and girls,
 For mothers and for saints, she reaches to the stars of heaven.
 Her father was called by name Dubtacus ;
 A man renowned for his good deeds, of famous ancestry ;
 Noble and humble, gentle and full of piety ;
 Nobler because of his wife and pious offspring.
 Many have written of the virtues of this virgin soul,
 The learned Ultan and Eleran honouring her ;
 One called Animosus has written many books
 Concerning the life and studies of this virgin and her good deeds.
 I shall begin from the least, nor shall greater things follow,
 But so shall I gather fitting blossoms in a garden full of flowers.
 If, beholding the glittering stars of heaven, we seek to know
 their order and high-aspiring course,
 If we could number the minutest grains of sand which the troubled
 waves of the sea have scattered on our shores,
 Then might we number the virtues of this virgin
 Whose body was the temple of the Most High God.”¹

¹ A metrical translation of these lines, which appeared many years ago in O'Halloran's "History of Ireland," is alluded to by Thomas Moore. He says, "This was one of the earliest pieces of poetry with which I in my youth was familiar, and it is purely in the indulgence of old recollections that I here venture to cite a few of the lines :—

"Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame
 By nature blessed, and Scotia is her name.
 Enrolled in books,—exhaustless is her store
 Of veiny silver and of golden ore.
 Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
 With gems her waters, and her air with health,
 Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow,
 Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow,
 Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,
 And arts and arms her envied sons adorn."

Lady Ferguson, in her work entitled "The Irish before the Conquest," thus refers to this passage : "Another voice from beyond sea, which testifies to the

MIRACLES OF DONATUS.

"We shall now," says the old author of our saint's life, "gather a few of the wonders which render this saint's life famous, as you might cull a basketful of blossoms from the many flowers of spring." First in order comes the following miracle:—

On a certain day, when Donatus had anointed many children with the baptism of Christ, it happened through the carelessness of a certain mother that one of these little ones was seized by the cunning of a wolf. The mother, with torn garments and streaming hair, ran to the shepherd, loudly bewailing her loss. Donatus, filled with inward grief, poured forth this prayer to the Most High God: "O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, help us! and do Thou, who for our sakes hast endured the death of the cross, have mercy upon us! Do not suffer Thy child, now

enviable condition of the island during these days of comparative happiness, comes from a greater distance. Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole, saw nothing in Tuscany fairer or more amiable than the aspect of the land and people from amongst whom he had come to fix his habitation beside the Arno. His verses have the tenderness of home affection mingled with a pardonable pride in his country:—

“Far in the confines of the west
There lies a land, of lands the best;
An island, rich in all good store
Of robe, and gem, and golden ore;
An isle, in soil, and sun, and wind,
Most healthful to the human kind.
With honey all the land abounds,
With lovely lawns and pasture grounds;
With weeds of peace and peaceful arts,
With arms of war and manly hearts.

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And worthy of that blessed spot,
There dwell the nations of the Scot;
A race of men renowned high
For honour, arms, and courtesy.”*

* See Appendix, "Ancient Descriptions of Ireland."

dedicated to Christ, to be devoured by a cruel foe, nor permit him whom I have signed with holy oil to be swallowed by a hungry wolf, for Thou hast said, 'I am the Good Shepherd. A good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.' Thou hast ordained me shepherd in Thy name; now therefore, I pray Thee, count me not a hireling, for Thou hast said, 'The wolf seizeth the sheep, and scattereth them; the hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.' Behold now this sheep within my charge, dedicated and sealed by me for Thee, and think of the hungry wolf who will feed upon it. I pray Thee, Son of the Most High, who didst restore the widow's son to life, despise not now the prayer of this poor woman in the peril of her son."

As the holy man prayed, the wolf, as if pierced by divine shafts, ran back with speed, bearing the child it had tried to devour to the feet of the shepherd, whose prayer had been granted. The people sang hymns in honour of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the virtue of Donatus shone in the eyes of all like a city that is set upon a hill.

On another occasion, as the bishop was toiling to restore the lost treasures of his church, a certain wicked man strove to despoil it. Repeatedly did the blessed Donatus rebuke and admonish him, so that sometimes the man's heart was softened, and he restored those things he had unjustly seized, remembering the words of the Psalmist against those who say, "Let us take to ourselves the house of God in possession," "Oh! my God, make them like a wheel or as the stubble before the wind." But once when the evil spirit was upon him, he turned from the holy man, not in contrition, but in anger, and was about to go back to his home despising the admonitions of the saint, and insulting him by twisting his countenance in derision. As he went he heard the words, "Go on henceforth with distorted countenance, as you have twisted it now in your obstinacy." Then his face turned towards his back, and his tongue stiffened and his covetous eyes closed, and his grasping hands were contracted, and he fell prostrate on the ground, stammering he strove to say, "Bring me to the man of God, for I have sinned in carrying off his treasure." Led by the hands of a servant he was laid at the feet of the saint, whom he earnestly prayed to take back the things which he had stolen, as well as to accept many free gifts

from his own stores, and the saint in his mercy repeated over him the prayers of penitence, and pronouncing the benediction, restored him to health.

Many other miracles are told of Donatus, who is compared to Joshua. It is said that once he struck a mountain barren, because, when he was praying one day, it shut out the light of the sun from him, and then at the prayer of the country people he restored it to fertility again. One day the saint was very ill, and when he could scarcely bear his pain he prayed to Christ to help him, and on the following night the power of the Lord was revealed, for as the darkness descended and the mountains were wrapped in gloom, behold a great light shone, and he saw virgins in white robes standing at the side of his couch. After gazing on them for some time he said, "Oh, you shining ones, what light do you bring into the darkness? what mean these lamps you bear? What wish you, or where would you have me to go?" Then one of the virgins, who was Bridget, the servant of God, thus answered, "We have come to thee, to heal thee." And opening her hands she blessed and anointed him, a sweet-scented balm dropping from her fingers. And thus she restored the bishop to health.

On another day, as the bishop, now an old man, was on the way to church, riding, a violent storm of rain came on, but the rain did not wet his aged frame, and he was received by his people with tears and blessings.

DONATUS AND ANDREW AT FIESOLE.

Andrew, the faithful disciple who had followed Donatus from Ireland, remained at his side till death, serving him in humility and goodness. Such was his wisdom that he was loved by the people of Fiesole no less than by his master. Donatus desired to promote him to the office of archdeacon, so as to raise his rank in the people's eyes. Henceforth Andrew followed the footsteps of the first deacon, and is said to have resembled Stephen and Laurence in his habits of life.

It happened that one day the two friends were walking together round the foot of the hill of Fiesole, when they came

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to the banks of the little river Mensola, which flows at the foot of a certain height crowned by a church dedicated to St. Martin. Ascending the hill, they found the ancient sanctuary in ruins, and on inquiring the cause of this desolation from the people in the neighbourhood, they learned that it had been laid waste in former days by the barbarous soldiers of Totila.

Donatus, as he stood in his sadness among the broken walls and bewailed the destruction of the temple, wept, and then in silent prayer the bishop entreated of God to send and restore his church, and the deacon Andrew, standing by, seeing the tears of his most holy father, inquired the cause of his sorrow; the bishop lifting up his voice to heaven, cried aloud, "Behold how Thy sanctuaries are laid low, and Thy high places are made desolate, and Thy temple has become the den of robbers and of wicked men, who show tyranny against Thy house before the eyes of all men." Andrew hearing these words, and filled with the zeal of charity, humbly offered to the bishop his earnest service for the restoration of the temple, and then, fixing his eyes on the ground, awaited his pleasure and commands. Donatus praised the devotion of the holy man, whose offer corresponded with his own thought. He made the sign of the cross, with hands stretched over him, and blessing him in God's name, said that henceforth he was free to devote himself to this pious work, and that when he had restored the monastery, he might therein dedicate the days of his life to the Lord, along with such of the brethren as he might choose. Andrew, though the work seemed arduous and difficult for a poor and needy man, thus strengthened by the holy bishop, began to clear the sacred place of brambles and of thorns, to search for the ancient foundations and dig out the stones of the old walls, hidden under the ruins. He also prepared new stones and cement and other things necessary for the building, with sedulous care. He sought alms from the pious and faithful persons in the neighbourhood around; he hired builders, with whom he laboured himself after the manner of a reasonable bee, continually fulfilling these labours in the restoration of the church so far as his little body, attenuated by fasting, would allow.

In a short time the basilica was not only restored but enlarged; moreover, the man of God bought lands sufficient for his small

company of monks with such sums as he could save by a holy parsimony, and earn through his own labours and that of his brethren. During these labours they lived on a most scanty subsistence, rejecting all superfluous things that might soften and enervate the rigour of their penitence, and after the completion of their work he distributed the surplus among the poor, not allowing these offerings to be hidden in chests, even to the amount of one jot; for the man of God thought avarice the greatest sin.

Having thus established his monastery near that of his master Donatus, he led a holy life in this place until he attained a good old age, expecting with a tranquil mind the gradual approach of his latter end. Were I to relate all the miracles which God deigned to grant to the prayers of this holy man, my work would expand beyond the limits usual in sacred writings. But here, in S. Martino a Mensola, did St. Andrew draw around him a number of devoted men who, invested with the sacred religious garb, led a life of austerity and purity; nor can the pen record the glorious deeds of his old age, how he cast out demons, gave sight to the blind, health to the fevered, and strength to the infirm, so that they might live to render thanks to their Creator.

PUBLIC LIFE OF DONATUS.

Circa 840.

The first public event recorded in the life of Donatus, after he was raised to the episcopal chair, is that of his presence at the coronation of Louis II. in Rome. Lothair, who received the imperial title in 843 at the Peace of Verdun, gave his son Louis a share in the imperial dignity and the special charge of the kingdom of Lombardy. Platina gives a graphic account of this event.¹ "Matters being thus composed, Lotharius sends his son Louis, whom he had taken into a partnership in the empire,"² into Italy with a mighty army, giving him for companions Drogon, Bishop of Metz, and others of the clergy eminent for prudence and gravity, by whose advice he was to govern himself.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220.

² A.D. 844.

But the young man, being puffed up with his great fortune, wheresoever he marched, filled the country with slaughter, rapine, and destruction. Yet when he approached the city, and the citizens of Rome came out of respect to meet him, laying by his Gaulish fierceness he grew more mild, because contrary to his expectation he found that he might enter the city without force of arms. The religious also came a mile out of the city to meet him with their crucifixes, singing, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the Highest." Thus they accompanied him as far as the steps of St. Peter's Church, where, meeting the Pope, they reciprocally kissed and greeted each other, and went together to the Silver Gates, which were not opened. Then said the Pope,¹ 'If thou comest hither with peaceable and friendly intentions, and if thou hast more regard to the advantage of Christianity than to the pleasure of exercising cruelty and rapine, then with my good will thou mayest enter; if thou art otherwise minded, touch not these gates, for over thy head hangs a sword, which will certainly avenge any such wickedness.'

"But when he had given the Pope assurance, immediately the doors were thrown open. Hereupon a multitude of Romans and Franks entering pell-mell, as soon as they came to the altar of St. Peter, they all kneeling down together, gave thanks to God Almighty and to the Prince of the Apostles, that matters had been carried according to their minds without hurt to anybody; this was done upon Monday after Whitsunday. But soon after the suburbs were sacked by the soldiers, and it wanted little but that they had got into the city for the same end, so that the eighth day after their coming the Pope anointed Louis with the holy oil, crowned him and declared him King of Italy. Soon after came Siconolfus, Prince of Beneventum, to congratulate him, and then the multitude was such that the trees were lopped, the beasts driven away, and even the standing corn cut down, that their horses might not want provender. The Pope therefore easily agreed to all their requests, if they were reasonable, that he might the sooner rid the city of them: and the Romans being now delivered from the fear of their tyrannical

¹ Pope Sergius II.

barbarity, celebrated the Pope as the true vicar of Christ and the only father of his country."

The authority for the statement that Donatus was present on this occasion in Rome is to be found in the following passage in the "Life of Pope Sergius II.," by the librarian Anastasius, in which also the blame of all this great disturbance seems to be laid at the feet of the Archbishop of Metz¹:—

"But then this same Drogo, archbishop of the church of Metz, was daily stirring up a very great strife and contest with the most holy pontiff and all our bishops and principal men, he himself doing so, as well as all the archbishops and bishops who had joined with him against this universal church, the head of all God's churches, without the leave and summons of their Metropolitan, that is Gregory, Archbishop of Ravenna, and Angilbert, Archbishop of the Milan church," and the writer goes on to enumerate nineteen other bishops from various towns of Italy, till we come to the name of our Irish saint, "Donatus episcopus Ecclesiæ Fesolanus."

Donatus returned to Fiesole after this exciting time in Rome, and seems to have continued to rule his diocese there in quiet for the next sixteen years, while Pope Sergius II. was succeeded by Leo IV. (847-855), who did much for the advancement of the arts, adding adornments of precious stones to the cross given by Charles the Emperor to the Basilica Constantiniana, finishing the decorations and mosaics of the churches of St. Martin and St. Silvester, and building the church of the Quattro Coronati in Rome. Also, having defeated in battle the Saracens who besieged Rome, he employed the prisoners in re-edifying those churches which the Saracens had heretofore ruined and burnt, and in building the wall about the Vatican, which from his own name he called Urbs Leonina. Then after the three years' pontificate of his successor, Benedict III., we come to Nicholas I., during whose reign as Pope, Donatus again visited Rome, when he was present at a Lateran Council that sat in the year 861 against John, Archbishop of Ravenna.²

¹ Anastasii Bibliothecarii, "Hist. de Vit. Rom Pont. Sergius II.," vol. ii., 486. "Patrol.," tom. cxxviii., p. 1298.

² See Coleti's addition to Ughelli, tom. ii., col. 350.

Platina says: "Nicholas, being earnestly intent upon the conservation of the pontifical dignity, deprived John, Archbishop of Ravenna, for refusing to obey a citation from the apostolic chair to answer some accusations. Whereupon he goes to Pavia, and procures of the Emperor (Louis) commendatory letters to the Pope, and to his ambassadors, that they should get leave that the Archbishop John should have a safe conduct to come to Rome and plead his own cause, which the Pope readily granted; and John, in a great convention of prelates [among whom was our Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole], being allowed liberty of speech, only confessed himself guilty, and begged pardon of the Pope and of all that were present. By which confession, and the intercession of the auditors, the Pope was persuaded to receive him into favour upon these conditions: that he should recant his error before the synod; that he should promise to come once a year, if possible, to Rome; that he should not be capable of consecrating any bishop in Romagna, however canonically elected, without leave first obtained from the see apostolic; and that he should not hinder any of those bishops from coming to Rome as often as they pleased; that he should not introduce any exaction, custom, or usage contrary to the sacred canons; and lastly, that under the penalty of anathema he should not alter or meddle with the treasure of Holy Church without the consent of the Pope, nor should without the same allowance receive anything secular. These holy institutions were so highly approved by the whole synod, that thrice they all shouted, 'Righteous is the judgment of the supreme prelate; just is the decree of the universal bishop; all Christians agree to this wholesome institution. We all say, think, and judge the same thing.' Then John, in the sight of them all, took his oath, and gave it under his hand that he would observe the articles." Then the convocation was dissolved, and John returned to Ravenna, and our Donatus to Fiesole.¹

¹ See Platina, "Lives of the Popes," p. 229.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF DONATUS.

It remains to tell in what manner the saint laid aside the burden of the flesh and reached the green pastures, for all the days of his life he had given no rest to his soul, but was occupied with prayer or study, or the business of the church, or care for the widow and the orphan. But at last, when God willed that his labour should end, he was seized with a fatal illness. Feeling his end approaching, he called the brethren together; having received the sacrament, he admonished them that they should live as holy and just men, and with lifted hands he poured forth prayers and vows to the Lord, and commended them to God and to the service of His word. Scarcely was his prayer ended, when behold! a great multitude of the people came around him weeping and saying, "Oh, holy minister of God, have pity on our grief! Holy Father, have mercy upon us! hearken to the words of those who call upon Thee! Give warmth back to those limbs that are now grown cold!"

Hearing these words, Donatus blessed the whole multitude with the benediction of the saints, and moved by their sorrow he poured forth this prayer in the presence of the crowd:—

"O Christ, the virtue and splendour of God, the wisdom of the Father,
 Begotten without time and before all ages;
 Who, being born of a Virgin, didst take our form,
 Nourished and suckled at the breast of a mother;
 Who dost cleanse our sins in holy baptism,
 'So that a new offspring descends from heaven;'¹

¹ Here Donatus refers to a remarkable verse in the fourth eclogue of Virgil, lines 5 to 7, from which this line is taken. It is one of those passages in the writings of the heathen poet which seem like unconscious prophecies of the coming of Christ:—

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo
 Jam redit et virgo; redeunt Saturnia regna;
 Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto."

"The great series of ages begins anew
 Now the Virgin returns; returns the Saturnian reign;
 Now a new progeny is sent down from the high heaven."

This instance of Donatus on his deathbed quoting these words of Virgil, "may," writes Dean Plumptre (*Dante*, vol. i., p. 303), "have had a special

Who destroyed the noxious power of the forbidden fruit,
 Who healed our wounds with His blood,
 Who by dying gave us life, and redeemed us from death,
 And who when buried, changed the law of the grave,
 By rising up from death and destroying its bitterness ;
 Who formerly destroyed Tartarus, and the realms of gloomy Pluto ;
 Who overcame the floods of greedy Acheron ;
 Who hurled down the wicked enemy into the pit.
 He arose, and led the captive captive to the right hand of the Father,
 And thousand, thousand virtues praise His victory.
 Thou also who hast deigned to suffer for our sins,
 Thou who hast given the kingdom of heaven to the wretched,
 Grant me power to climb the lofty stair of Paradise,
 Open the gates of Life to me who duly knock,
 Let no proud or greedy enemy overtake me,
 Let no strange hand touch me or snatch away my prize ;
 But do Thou, O Christ, receive Thy humble servant,
 That I, though trembling, may deserve to see those glorious guests,
 That I may behold the company of saints, rejoicing with Thee,
 Thou who rulest with the Father and the Holy Spirit throughout all ages.”
 (God delights in odd numbers.)

Having uttered these words, Donatus signed his brethren and his spiritual children with the cross, and the old man was gathered to the fathers, and full of days went on his way to heaven, and his disciples laid him in a stone coffin in the same place where the other holy bishops were laid, and carved upon his tomb the epitaph that Donatus himself had written :—

influence on Dante's mind.” The great Italian poet takes up the theme again when he writes :—

“ Secol si rinnova,
 Torna justizia e primo tempo umano
 E progenie scende dal ciel nova.” (*Purg.*, c. xxii., 70.)

“ A renovated age,
 Justice returns and man's primæval time,
 And a new race descends from Heaven.”

For the application of Virgil's prophecy to the Incarnation, see Natalis Alexander, “*Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 1.*” *Dissert. 1.*, Paris, 1679, vi., p. 166.

“Many writers,” says Dantier, “have been found to demonstrate, holding the fourth eclogue in their hand, that the Swan of Mantua had announced the coming of the Messiah. Armed by this text, the author of the *Bucolics* was allowed to pass unopposed, and with him all the other Latin poets.”

“ Here I, Donatus, sprung from Scottish blood,
 Alone in this tomb, among the worms and dust dissolve.
 For many years I served the kings of Italy,
 Lothair the Great and Louis the Good.¹
 For more than eight lustrums and seven years
 I was ruler in the city of Fiesole ;
 I dictated exercises in grammar to my pupils,
 Metrical schemes, and the lives of the blessed saints.
 You traveller, whoever you are, for Christ’s sake
 Be not unwilling to behold my tomb,
 And pray to God, who rules in highest heaven,
 That He may grant to me His blessed kingdom.”

The old biographer of Donatus, at the conclusion of his history, adds these lines :—

“ Let us therefore all unite and say,
 Oh, saint of God and beloved confessor,
 Father and pontiff,
 Educator and nourisher, ruler and shepherd,
 Help with thy prayers the destitute and fallen,
 Have pity on the widow and the captive,
 Help the orphan and the weak,
 Help those who live to-day, and those who will come after,
 Give aid to those who live and those who die ;
 Refuse not, we beseech thee, to listen to our prayers,
 Who though imprisoned in the bonds of iniquity,
 Yet so far as their ignoble nature may permit,
 Make offering of these things to their superiors.
 Them we implore with all our might
 To amend that which is faulty, and to be indulgent to
 All that which is worthless, and to pity our presumption,
 And since we cannot of ourselves mount to the pastures of Paradise,
 Help us to pray that so we may entreat the aid of Jesus Christ,
 To whom, with the Holy Trinity, are all things, world without end.”²

¹ On the 30th of July, 817, Lothair was on the throne with Louis the Good. Louis died 840.

² “This prayer,” writes Ozanam, “in which there is much naïveté, humility, and faith, is a characteristic termination to the little work before us. It is the writing of some student under the direction of his master. One of those miraculous histories, favourite exercises among young clerks, by which the libraries of the churches were enlarged, and which in the end grew to volumes of legend of great size. We recognise in these works the taste of the middle ages for *pièces farcies*, mixtures of prose and verse, now in the vulgar tongue, and again in that of the learned. Let us not too much despise this rudeness, for on one hand these limping hexameters, here and there sustained by a hemistich, or by an entire verse from Virgil, prove that

DEATH OF ST. ANDREW IN SAN MARTINO.

Andrew survived his master but a short time. When the Lord revealed to him that his last days were approaching, and he lay upon his sick-bed wasted by fever, he collected or assembled his monks around him, exhorting them to good works and faithful obedience to their monastic rule. Then turning his mind to heavenly things, the memory of his childhood came back to him, and he thought of his sister Brigid, whom he had left behind in Ireland, from whom he had been parted for upwards of forty years, and whom he greatly longed to see before he died. Just at this time Brigid was seated at home in a retired place in Ireland, at her frugal meal of salad and small fishes. Then the Lord, mercifully willing to comfort Andrew, and grant his earnest prayer that he might once more behold his sister's face, sent an angel to her chamber, who bore her to the bedside of her brother at Ficsole.

The monks who stood around his bed in tears were amazed and dumb at her appearance. Brigid, trembling and awestruck, thought the crowd before her in their strange costumes and the aged dying man upon the bed to be but a vision. Andrew lifted his eyes, and when they rested on the aged woman standing at the foot of his couch, he understood it all. He spoke to her in tender tones, and said, "Brigid, my beloved sister, long have I in my heart wished to see thee before I die, but all my hope was fading out as death approached and I remembered the great distance between us. But the fount of eternal love has

antiquity is neither forgotten nor proscribed. On the other hand, this rhymed prose, in which Thomas Aquinas did not disdain to compose his hymns, this prose of the 'Dies iræ' and of the 'Stabat Mater,' is it not destined to become the type of versification in all modern languages? and when a hagiography had exhausted all the resources of prose, and when, in one last effort, the writer, rising to the grandeur of his subject, shows the old bishop in his sickness visited in a dream by St. Brigid, the Irish patroness of Kildare, and tells how she let fall upon him one drop of oil from her lamp, and he recovers, his narrative is given in hexameters. And at the last, when Donatus, sinking from the weight of years and labour, comes to offer up his great soul, and for once, finally uplifts his voice in the midst of his weeping brethren, his prayer was offered in verse."

granted to me, a sinner, this great favour that thou seest now. Fear not, for it is in very deed and truth Andrew of Ireland, thy brother, whom thou now seest before thee. Now thou shalt behold him but a little while, him who, thou thoughtest, had long emigrated from this world. I trusted that God for thy merits would grant my dying prayer; I always hoped that here to this place, where I, far from my country, a feeble soldier, have passed my days, thou wouldest at some time come, a solitary and a penitent, to fill up the measure of the shortcomings in my soldiership by thy virtues. Behold herein the mercy of God. Fear not, but pray for me with all the fervour of thy soul. Behold the hour is at hand and my summons has come. Lay down thy soul's amazement, and know that what thou now seest is true."

Then Brigid, awaking as it were from sleep, wept for joy and fervour and grief; kissing her brother's hand she held it tightly, but could not speak, so choked was she by sobs and sighs. She folded her brother in the chaste embrace of her most modest arms, and crying out in prayer she bathed him in her tears. Then wearied out in this hour of sorrow, she was first silent, and afterwards, kneeling to the ground, she thus broke forth in prayer:—

"All powerful God, who alone doest marvels, whom the powers of Heaven serve, whom the elements obey, on whom all creatures justly wait, I give Thee thanks with praise and blessing, since Thou hast vouchsafed to Thine handmaiden to lead her to the presence of her brother. All honour and glory be unto Thee." Then turning to the dying man, she said, "O most holy brother, long years ago the best guide of my youth and the director and guardian of that life which by thy holy persuasion I have dedicated to the Lord, now I both rejoice and mourn at the same moment. For when I see thy weakness I pity thee in my affection, and yet I grieve and mourn that thou shouldest go so soon from this miserable world wherein thou leavest me unconsolated. But when I see with what great striving thou hast resisted the temptations of this life, and hast defeated the evil one, and in thy good deeds art justified before the Lord, I exult and rejoice. For the rest I do but say, Whatsoever days remain for me after thou hast gone I am resolved to dedicate to thy just will, following in thy footsteps so far as the

weakness of my sinful frame allows. I will tarry patiently in this place whither the angel of the Lord has borne me so long as God wills, but praying of thee, dearest brother, to entreat of Him that He may grant a man's strength to aid my woman's frailty. And now, oh, my brother! be strong in the Lord, and show in death that strength in the cross which thou didst bear in life."

When she had thus spoken, Andrew, the man of God, strengthened by his sister's words, raised himself on his knees from the harsh hairy couch on which he lay, and having clasped his hands on high so far as his failing strength allowed, he bade farewell to his sister and to his brethren, and raising his eyes to heaven he prayed, "Receive into Thy bosom, O Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, the spirit of Thy servant Andrew." Then having covered his eyes, he straightway died.

And the brethren, who with his sister were praying around him expecting the hour of his departure, suddenly beheld a splendour of light descend upon the man of God from heaven, which from its excessive brilliancy was more than their eyes could endure, and the whole house was filled with a fragrant odour, and when this great light had returned to the heaven whence it came, and they could look upon the holy corpse again, they saw him laid upon the bed as if in sleep, his arms folded like a cross upon his breast. The monks then, according to their usual custom, reverently carried the body thence, and laid it on a bier opposite the altar, until such time as they could duly celebrate the funeral.

Meanwhile, all the people of Fiesole, male and female, young and old, as if summoned by a heavenly trumpet, left the city and hastened in crowds to the monastery of St. Martin on the Mensola. Moreover, crowds assembled from the regions round about, to the place where the body lay, and they kissed his hands and feet in their reverence and devotion, carrying away with them as relics whatever little fragments of the holy man's garments they could secure.¹

¹ "Andrew, Archdeacon of Fiesole," says Ware, "and the faithful companion of the before-mentioned Donat, is said to have written, 'De Pœnitentiæ bono,' Lib. 1, 'De Eleemosynæ Effectu,' Lib. 1, 'Ad Fratres a se indutos,' Lib. 1, 'De Actis Donati Magistri,' Lib. 1, 'Moralium Dictionum,' Lib. 1."

After her brother's death, Brigid left the monastery without delay, and settled near the source of the river Sieci, where she founded a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. Then, in her old age, she sought in a thick forest, among the higher Apennines, a place where she might lead a solitary life in penitence and prayer. She found a cave in a lonely place called Opacum, now Lobaco, high among the mountains which were haunted by wild beasts; here she spent her remaining years—her only food being fruits and roots—far from the haunts of men, and passed her time in fasting, watching, and in prayer. When she had attained a great old age, she was often visited in her hermitage by peasants, who, when out upon the mountains hunting, were wont to offer her a share of their spoil, but she refused to accept their gifts. Knights and holy matrons are said to have come to her in her cave, and now and then a devout monk came to comfort her soul. At length, spent with old age, she died upon the 1st of February, about the year 870.

The inhabitants of the country, venerating her as a saint, buried her remains, and built a church in her name, up among the mountains, on the site of her hermitage. This was called S. Brigida, and her birthday was celebrated there in after years with great solemnity. The result of these pilgrimages to her shrine was, that the wild places round it were cultivated, the forest was cleared, and the fields were planted, so that in a short time the country was reclaimed, and the region was no longer uninhabited.

LETTERS FROM FIESOLE.

Nov., 1889.

MY DEAR E.,

IN following the footsteps of S. Donatus, the first building we should visit must be the Badia or old abbey of Fiesole.

It seems as if the saint, with his companion Andrew, must have approached it by the low road which, leaving Florence from Porta San Gallo, runs along the bank of the river Mugnone, and have crossed the bridge at the foot of the hill, and climbed the steep ascent leading to the terrace before the church door. The present building was erected in 1462 by Cosimo de' Medici. The façade facing the west is unfinished. Before the door rise the great buildings of the monastery. There is a beautiful view from the terrace, and the valley you look down upon was famous in early Italian history. According to tradition, the ancient fortress of Fiesole stood near the site of the Badia, close to which the army of Radagastus, King of the Goths, was routed by Stilicho and his Florentines. The Gothic king had led his army of 200,000 men, from beyond the Danube, to besiege Florence on his way to Rome, and when they took refuge in the wild recesses of the Fiesolean hills, Stilicho defeated them in this narrow gorge below the Badia.

My first object was to see if any trace were still left of the ancient oratory of the founder, S. Romolo—a little oratory that I might be sure SS. Donatus and Andrew had often knelt and

worshipped in. It is described as an octagon building, of very small size, beneath the altar of which the body of the founder lay for, at all events, 1,800 years. The building is represented by Botticelli in his great picture of the Assumption of the Virgin in the National Gallery of London, the foreground of which, to the left, represents the view of the Badia and the valley of the Mugnone. From this picture I knew where to look for the ancient oratory, but when I walked along the south wall, against which it stood, what was my disappointment to find the building had disappeared; nothing remaining but a dark stain in the wall, and a white marble tablet, stating that here stood the original oratory of the founder, which in the year 1875 was removed to add to the elegance of the church—"Per crescere l' eleganza della chiesa."

At the time of Donatus, this abbey was dedicated to St. Peter, but in the year 1028 it was re-dedicated to St. Bartholomew. It then ceased to be the cathedral of Fiesole, and became a Benedictine abbey. In 1440, Cosimo de' Medici handed the monastery over to the Lateran Canons. This prince enriched and rebuilt the church, entrusting the work to Brunellesco, who commenced the façade after the manner of the tenth century, veneering the walls with white and black mosaic. This part of the work was never finished. He added a fine sacristy, spacious cloisters and refectory, rebuilt the library and enriched it with a splendid collection of codici and rare works. In the lifetime of Cosimo this abbey was the resort of all the great men who adorned the court of the Medici. And here Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., was invested with his cardinal's robe.

In the year 1778 the monastery was suppressed, the church was closed, and the valuable library was removed to the Laurentian Library of Florence. The library of the Badia contained two hundred MS. codici of ancient and mediæval times, almost all in the Latin language, eleven of which were Latin gospels.

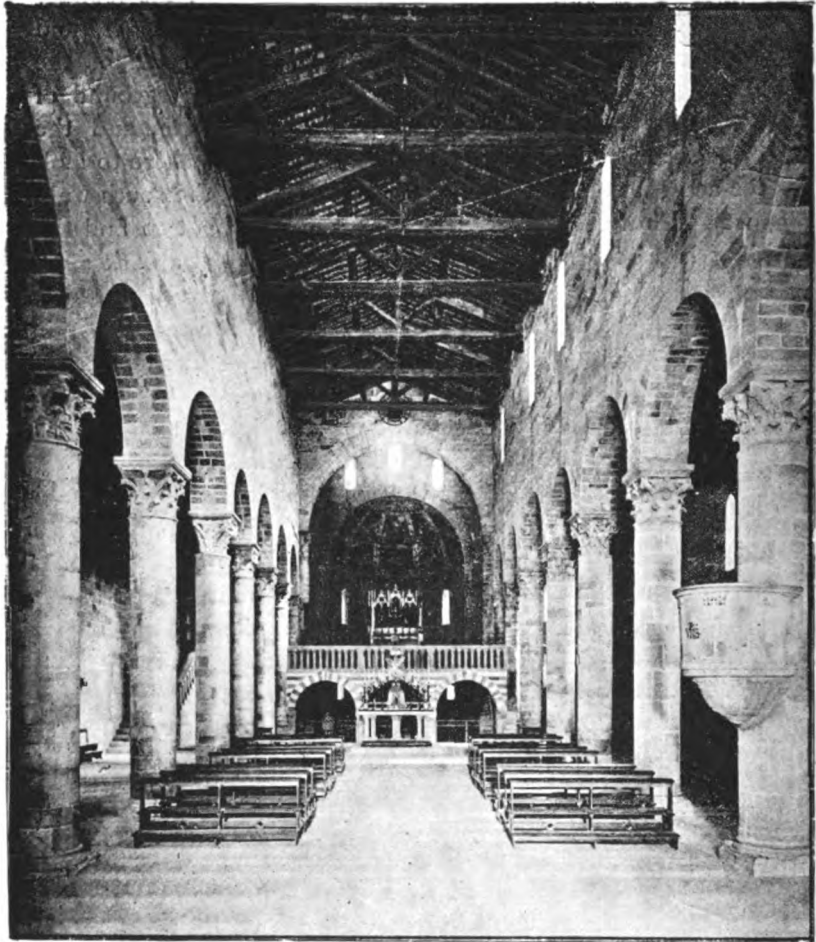


Fig. 84.—INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL OF FIESOLE.

According to the Roman martyrology the feast of S. Donatus, Bishop and Confessor, was annually kept at Fiesole, in the cathedral of which town he was buried. Also, in the British martyrologies, Donatus Scotus is honoured as the chief patron of Fiesole, and his feast was celebrated on the 22nd October, the day of his death. His feast is now celebrated throughout the

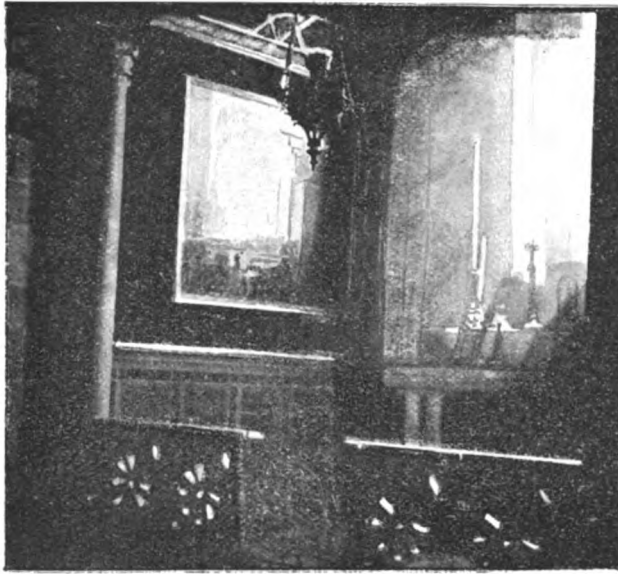


Fig. 85.—TOMB OF S. DONATUS.

whole of Ireland on the same day, in accordance with a decree of Benedict XIV., quoted by Thomas de Burgh, issued on the 1st July, 1747.

I have learned that the body of Donatus is no longer buried in the church here called the Badia, or abbey. His bones are now laid in the cathedral of Fiesole, where his relics were removed,

S

along with those of SS. Romulus and Alexander, and buried in the chapel of the sacrament.

It appears that, on the occasion of a great festa in honour of the final overthrow of Napoleon, held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th days of August, 1814, the vicar, wishing to give the thanksgiving service due impressiveness, proposed to the chapter that



Fig. 86.—SILVER SHRINE OF HEAD OF S. DONATUS.

not only should they expose to the gaze of the faithful the crucifix to be brought from the neighbouring oratory of Fonte Lucente, but also all the remarkable relics in the old abbey were to be taken from their places and laid upon the altar in the sight of the congregation.¹ The bones of the patron of the church, who lived A.D. 60, S. Romolo, were then all taken, excepting his head, and laid in a marble tomb beneath the altar. This was opened, and the relics were removed for three days to a gilded coffer, along with the bones of S. Alessandro, S.

Donato, and S. Andrea Corsini. At the end of the ceremony the holy relics were restored to their places, especially those of S. Romolo, which were carefully laid back again in the tomb beneath the altar. In 1827-28, works of restoration were carried on, and repairs were made in the choir and crypt; again, in 1838, a government grant of 500 scudi toscani enabled them to carry

¹ "La Cattedrale di Fiesole," p. 131. P. Federigo Bargilli. Florence, 1883.

on repairs and restorations. It was during the episcopate of Bishop Ranieri Mancini, A.D. 1787-1814, that the altar of S. Donato was erected in the cathedral. The head of the saint is enshrined in a silver bust in the church of S. Domenico (see fig. 86).

“It appears,” writes P. Bargilli (p. 128), “that in 1795 Bishop Mancini sought permission to remove the remains of the body of S. Donatus from the abbey of Fiesole, where it had been originally buried. After some delay he succeeded, and wishing to revive the devotion of the people to their holy bishop, he resolved to make a solemn ceremony of the translation, and to have a public festival in honour of the Virgin Brigid. But the disturbed state of the country at the time so distracted the minds of the people of Tuscany, that he had to effect the translation of the relics of Donato in the most private possible manner. Therefore, in the evening of the 5th May, 1810, the bishop and a few of his canons went to the old abbey and took the relics out of the tomb. They laid them in a wooden coffin, and secretly transported them to Fiesole, hoping that in better days they might be able to give them the due honour then forbidden by the unhappy circumstances of the time. Pending the erection of the altar within the cathedral, the relics were consigned to the guardianship of the Curato Romolo Pelagi, to be kept in his private oratory. The design for the altar was finished and the materials were ready, when a letter arrived from Paris condemning the good bishop to exile.

“The canons, moved by inexpressible grief, met to consult together in this crisis. They wrote an affectionate letter of condolence to their prelate, and added prayers to their ritual for the return of their bishop to his diocese, and the restoration of peace to their country.

“Bishop Mancini had been Napoleon’s constant and avowed opponent, condemning his actions as unjust and unrighteous; therefore it was in vain that the noblest citizens of Florence united with the clergy of Fiesole to entreat that this unjust sentence might be revoked. The good bishop died in exile on the 10th February, 1814, and when his will was opened, it was found to contain an injunction that

the altar for the relics of S. Donatus should be built as soon as possible. The order was carried out by his relation, Lancilotto Mancini, when he had obtained the new bishop's consent. It was finished in June, 1817, and the coffin was prepared to receive the sacred bones, which were carried to it in solemn procession upon St. Peter's day. The sorrow for the death of their beloved bishop was soon alleviated by the news of the fall of the dreaded conqueror, who had overrun Italy and devastated the Church. The cathedral resounded with songs of thanksgiving."

In all this history of the translation of the bones of S. Donatus there is no mention made of the ancient sarcophagus, with the Latin epitaph written by the saint himself, and carved by his disciples on his tomb. It would be most interesting to discover at what time this monument disappeared.

Bargilli states that one of the ancient ambone of the cathedral was carried away in 1544, and first placed in S. Pietro Scheraggio, and after many vicissitudes was found in 1742 in S. Leonardo in Arcetri, "an object for the study and admiration of all lovers of art."

The Bishop of Fiesole, Benozzo Federighi, in 1440 ordered a picture to be presented to the cathedral, representing Our Lady between St. Peter and St. Paul, S. Donato and S. Alessandro. It is not certain who the painter of this picture was, but this much is certain, that Federighi ordered the picture to be executed; his arms may be seen on a shield at the side of the step, which is divided into compartments, each illustrating scenes in the life of the saint painted above.

Outside the cathedral of Fiesole, the following inscription may be read upon a stone fixed into a wall near the side door¹ :—

"Ossa S. Donati antistitis Fæsulani
Thesaurus ille habet condita
Quorum sedes ad D. Bartholomæi
Ædem suburbanam perdiu fuit

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

Unde Raynerius Mancini episc. Fæsul.
 Dum apud Parmenses exularet
 In hoc Templum maximum
 Ut suæ faceret pietati satis
 Transferre voverat
 Ubi primum ad suos
 Posliminio rediret
 At morte interceptus
 Id operis nepoti Lancillotto
 Absolvendum reliquit
 Qui patruï votum libens animo
 Solvit
 Eaque solemnï pompa
 Facibus cereisque ardentibus
 circumducta
 Huic altari gradu et loculo
 Marmoreis exornato
 III^o. Kal. Quintil. MDCCCXVII.
 Inlata fuere."

Having seen this inscription and photographed the altar of S. Donato in the cathedral, I felt as if I had had enough of archæology for one day, and I went down the hill of Fiesole again to the Badia. I was haunted by the desire to find out the point of view whence Botticelli drew his picture of Florence and the Villa Palmieri in the painting already alluded to above, so, having passed the old Badia, now converted into a college, I crossed the bridge over the Mugnone and walked up the hill towards the Villa Salviati. Turning off the high road to the right, I got among the lanes on Monte Rinaldi near La Lastra, on the Via Bolognese, and soon found myself among the ruined terraces of an ancient garden, where cactus and aloe grew side by side with brambles, periwinkle, and ivy. Beds of narcissus carpeted the ground, and fragments of broken pillars and mouldings, the ruins of some old summerhouse once standing here, lay half buried in creepers of every imaginable variety.

Having reached an open in the thicket into which I had strayed, I was startled to see the very scene represented by Botticelli about the year 1455 lying at my feet—the wide horizon reaching from San Domenico and the Apennines beyond Monte Moro, Scala, and Monte Maggio, round the whole Val d'Arno, to San Lorenzo and the northern boundary of Florence.

Seated on the same mountain-side where the great painter must have sat four hundred and thirty years ago, and holding my little copy of his landscape in my hand (see fig. 87), it was intensely interesting to trace the objects still remaining on which his eye had rested, and which his conscientious pencil had outlined, and to note the changes wrought by time in the aspect of the scene. A bridge crossed the river at the same point in its course, but now one single arch spans the water where formerly three arches stood. The gravelly reaches and rocky banks of the stream on this side of the bridge are marvellously unchanged; so also is the road that winds along to Fonte Lucente, and the steep causeway leading up the hill-side from the bridge to the Badia. This causeway may have been very old even in Botticelli's day—may have been the same road travelled by our Irish pilgrims, Donatus and Andrew, when they first ascended the hill to the church door. Not a stone seems to have been altered in the church itself since the painter's day—the half-finished façade of inlaid marbles is half-finished still. The monastic buildings at the side, with all their irregular windows and doors so faithfully drawn by Botticelli, remain untouched. Only one change is visible, and that the mournful one already mentioned, wrought within the last fifteen years—the sweeping away of the ancient oratory of the founder. In the painting a spire is represented as rising from the square tower of the Badia. This spire really belongs to the church of San Domenico on the hill behind, which, seen from this lofty point of view, appears just over the tower of the Badia, though at some distance beyond it. It is probable that some

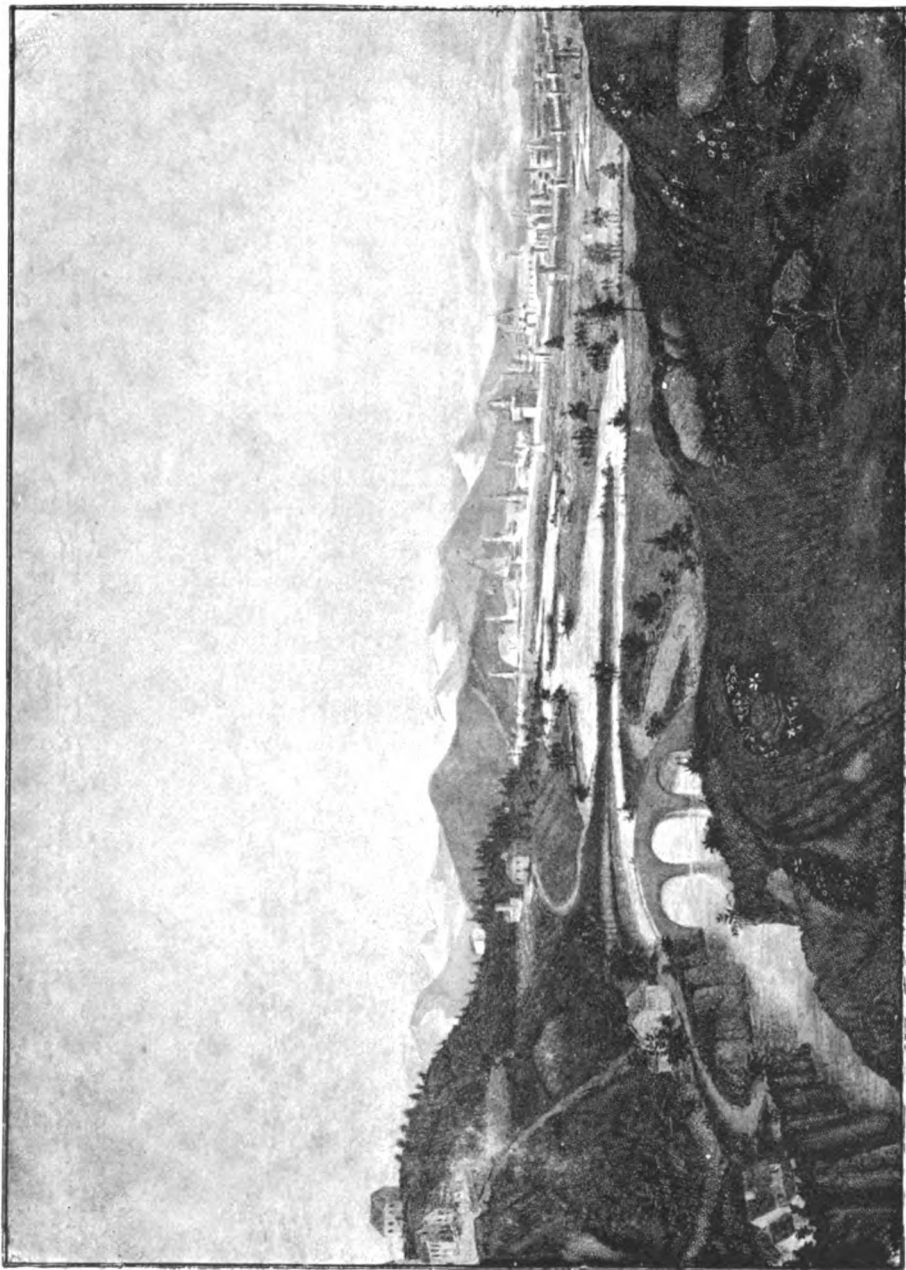
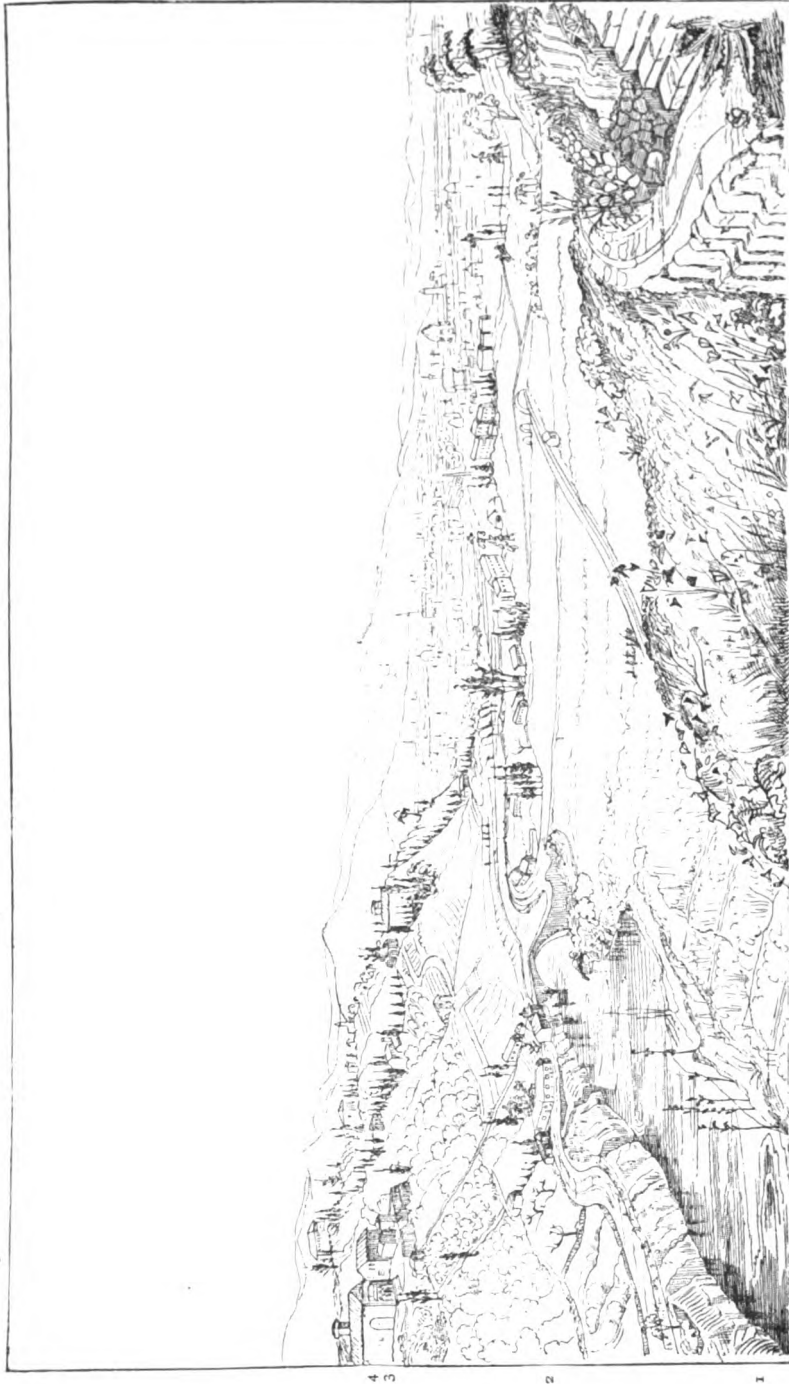


FIG. 87.—FLORENCE FROM FIESOLE : FROM THE PICTURE BY BOTTICELLI IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17



- 1. River Mugnone.
- 2. Bridge over Mugnone.
- 3. Site of S. Romolo's oratory.
- 4. Badia of Fiesole.
- 5. Villa Luna (Bartese Scala).
- 6. Villa Palmieri.
- 7. San Miniato.
- 8. Arcetri and Galileo's tower.
- 9. Santa Croce.
- 10. San Marco Vecchio.
- 11. Bargello.
- 12. Annunziata.
- 13. Signoria.
- 14. Duomo.
- 15. Giotto's tower.
- 16. Porta S. Gallo.
- 17. S. Lorenzo.
- 18. Railway to Bologna.
- 19. Old garden on Monte Rinaldi.

FIG. 88.—FLORENCE FROM FIESOLE, AS SEEN AT THE PRESENT DAY.

ignorant restorer, seeing the faint distant outline, has repainted the spire as belonging to the church in front.

The old country seat of Bartolommeo Scala, the friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, now called Villa della Luna in Camerata (see fig. 88), has been modernized since the days when Botticelli drew it. On the distant hills above the eastern side of the city, the basilica as well as fortress of San Miniato are clearly visible; on the next line of hills Arcetri and the observatory of Galileo come into view. Further west the hill of Bellosguardo and the whole valley of the Arno are seen extending to the horizon. Here the view is interrupted in the picture of Botticelli by the group of apostles round the virgin's tomb in the foreground, but the city of Florence lies in the middle distance. The old towered walls and noble gateways represented by the painter are no longer visible. The walls have been swept away in recent years, and the present aspect of the city, as viewed from this seat of Botticelli's, is as that of a lake that has overflowed its boundaries, and its long streets and tiled roofs reach even to San Marco Vecchio, where the steam from the neighbouring mill, curling in wreaths above the surrounding buildings, forms a constant feature in the scene. The dome of San Lorenzo, the spire of Sta. Croce, with numbers of other buildings raised since the fifteenth century, are all clearly distinguishable from this bank on Monte Rinaldi. At this particular moment, however, my interest was concentrated on the villa that rises amid tall cypress and olive-trees on the height above the Mugnone beyond the bridge. This is the house of Matteo Palmieri, the author of the poem, "La Citta di Vita," which inspired this great painting of Botticelli's. It is now the home of the widowed Lady Crawford of Balcarres and her daughters, and was the residence occupied by Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the occasion of her visit to Florence in 1888.¹

¹ The circumstances under which this picture was composed are described by Sir Frederic Burton in the Catalogue of the National Gallery, London,



The house was formerly called La Fonte de Trevisi, from an old three-faced head of Janus placed above it, and was named after Matteo Palmieri when this learned Florentine purchased it in 1450. A further interest attaches to this place, since tradition states that Boccaccio selected it for one of the homes of his fair storytellers in the "Decameron."

Here, then, no doubt, Botticelli was often a guest of Matteo Palmieri, who, besides being a profound theologian and an earnest student of Dante's works, had composed the poem we have already alluded to, somewhat on the model of the "Divina Commedia," in which he supposes himself conducted by the Cumean Sibyl through the Elysian Fields to Heaven—the "City of Life." These two friends may have here planned this great altar-piece for the Palmieri Chapel which was to illustrate the closing canto of the poem. It is perfectly in keeping with the poetic instincts of sacred painters of the quattro cento that this great vision of Heaven should be represented as bursting on the poet in his own very home. Gazing upwards from his cypress groves into the unfathomable blue above, it is as if that sky had slowly opened, and the interior of a vast dome were revealed, rising above three iridescent bands of light peopled with nine successive zones of sacred forms, all gazing in absorbed ecstasy on the figure of the Divine Mother, lowliest of women, kneeling at the feet of the Redeemer, the Alpha and the Omega.

DEAR E.,

I started yesterday in search of St. Andrew's Church on the Mensola, called S. Martino a Mensola. I left Florence by the Porta alla Croce, and, passing the Barriere Settinesane, walked on

but the poem which inspired it has never appeared in print. A magnificently illuminated copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Laurentian Library. Another copy, without ornament and of later date, is in the Magliabecchian Library, and a third is preserved in the Ambrosian Library of Milan.

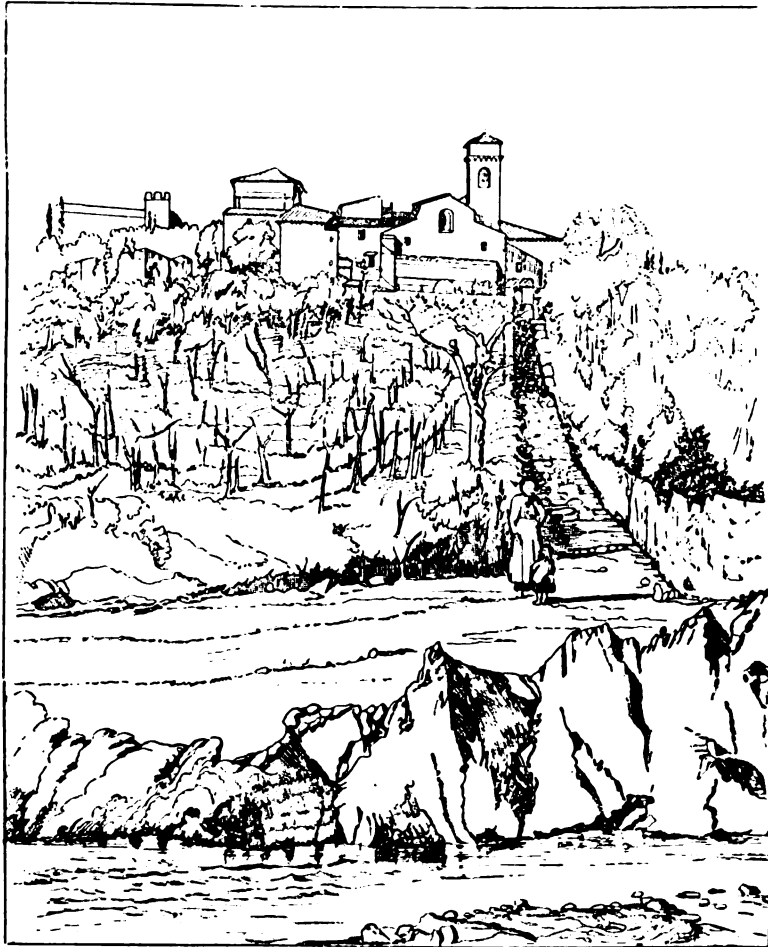


Fig. 89.—SAN MARTINO A MENSOLA.

past the turn down to the abbey of S. Salvi (where the beautiful fresco of the Last Supper by Andrea del Sarto is to be seen) till I reached the gate of Villa Poggio Gherardo, where Mrs. Ross, the authoress of "The Land of Manfred," lives. A little further on I came to a bridge over the Mensola, and saw the little church and its tower on a height above. A steep paved road or causeway, evidently very old, and possibly that which was trod by Andrew and Donatus in the ninth century, leads up to it, which is shown clearly enough in the drawing. It runs by the side of the vineyard of Villa Gherardo. Here I may tell you a few facts that I have been able to gather on the history of this monastery of former days, founded by our Irish Andrew.

Some years after its foundation it was ceded to the Benedictines of the Badia of Florence, along with all its annexations. About the year 1070 Abbot Pietro II., with the consent of his monks, instituted a Benedictine cloister here, granting to these clerics the old church and monastery which were founded two centuries before by Bishop S. Donatus and his archdeacon St. Andrew. The building had suffered great injuries in the course of these centuries, and threatened to fall into ruin when it was restored towards the end of the thirteenth century. Finally, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the monastery was suppressed by a bull of Pope Nicholas V., dated the 12th of March, 1451, and the church of S. Martino with all its possessions came beneath the jurisdiction of the Florentine Badia. The church itself, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was almost rebuilt by the direction of the Abbot of Florence, Luca da Buggiano, who was careful to place the bones of St. Andrew of Ireland with all due honour beneath the new altar, and he then had the following epitaph placed near the altar:—

"D. O. M.

Aram hanc quam vetustate attritam R. P. D. Lucas
a Bojano (Buggiano) abbas abbatix Florentinx in

Divum Andream Scotum pietatis ergo renovata
Structura asportatis importatisq; ejusdem divi sacris
ossibus exornandam colendamque curavit
R. D. Alexander Burgices Burgi sancti se pulchri
episcopus sacro lapide dicavit Anno Domini
M.D.CXI.XX. Kal. Augusti."

This church of S. Martino in Mensola is marked on the ancient maps of the thirteenth century as a parochial and suburban of Florence, or a daughter of the metropolitan church, which it continued to be until the year 1795, when, by an agreement between the Archbishop of Florence and the Bishop of Fiesole, it was connected with the parish of S. Lucia of Trespiano, which till then had been a suburban of Fiesole.

The church of S. Martino was restored about the year 1450 by a member of the noble Florentine family, the Lords Gherardi, whose arms may be seen in many parts of the walls of the same church. The Italian biographer of St. Andrew speaks of an English inscription in this church, which I, however, failed to find. He says:—

“Upon a dado of marble which supports the vase for holy water the following English words were cut in an ancient character:—

‘HELP HELP, GHOD,’

which the learned Doctor Antonio Cocchi interprets,

‘AIUTA AIUTA O DIO.’

We may conjecture from the appearance of this inscription, that as St. Andrew originally came from Ireland, an island beyond England, where the English tongue is spoken, this fragment of the English language proves that some connection may have been kept up with the native land of the founder.”

The interior of the building consists of three naves, with columns of the Ionic order. It is enriched with some good works of art, a fine triptych, said to be the work of Bernardo

Orgagna, upon the high altar, and an Annunciation of the school of Fra Angelico. The body of the saint, embalmed, is laid beneath the high altar.

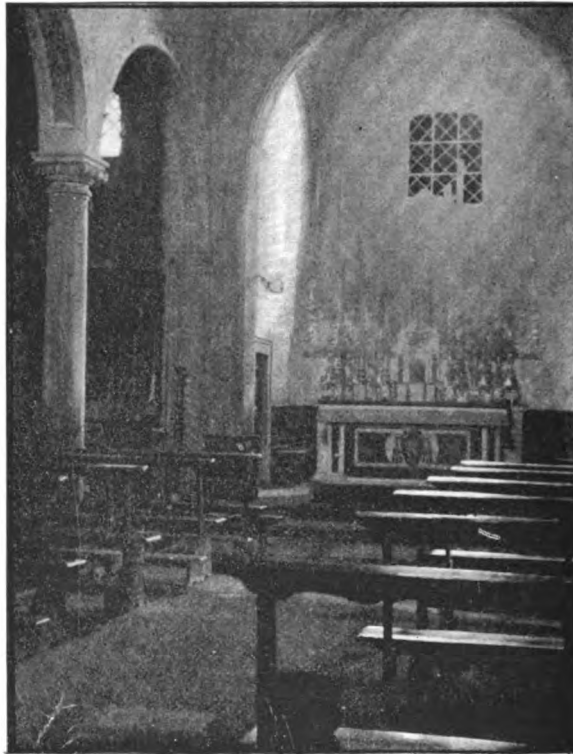


Fig. 90.—INTERIOR OF S. MARTINO A MENSOLA.

The Benedictines of S. Martino a Mensola became connected with the monks of S. Andrea in Arco near the Mercato Vecchio, where in 893 Ingelberta, daughter of Count Ubaldo, was abbess. These monks then came to live in the church of Andrea, and the

body of St. Andrew of Ireland was found in 1285. Connected with this monastery in Mensola was the humble church of S. Martino in the Via dei Magazzini in Florence, founded in 786 by St. Andrew of Ireland. Much interest belongs to this place now, as S. Antonio, in the thirteenth century, there instituted a society called the "Buonumini di San Martino." The object of this society was very much the same as that we have at home for the distressed ladies of Ireland; it was for the private relief of persons of the upper class who had been reduced to poverty by misfortune—"I Poveri Vergognosi" as they were called. There is a reference to this society in George Eliot's "Romola." The church stands in the piazza facing the house of Dante, and its interior was once beautifully decorated with frescoes; now, alas! half faded and gone, representing the seven acts of mercy. These works are said to belong to the school of Fra Filippo Lippi. But to return to our hills: the scenery immediately around the church of S. Martino a Mensola is full of interesting associations to an English eye. Close by was the villa of Walter Savage Landor, which is described by Dickens, when he visited him there, and recalled the memory of Leigh Hunt.

"Leigh loved to wander among the Fiesolean hills, thinking of Boccaccio. The streams Affrico and Mensola were the metamorphosed lovers in his *Nimphale Fiesolano*; at his feet the Valley of the Ladies. To the left the house of Macchiavelli. Further on, Michael Angelo's birthplace at Settignano. On the banks of the neighbouring river Mugnone the house of Dante, and in the background Galileo's villa of Arcetri. In the thick of this noble landscape, forming part of the village of San Domenico di Fiesole, stood Landor's second villa. The Valley of the Ladies was in his grounds, the Affrico and Mensola ran through them. Above, the ivy-clad convent of the Doccia, overhung with cypress, and Val d'Arno and Vallombrosa were visible from his entrance gate." Dickens describes the house as

nestling among olive-trees and vines, with its upper windows open to the setting sun, "and all Italy, except the sea, is melted down into the glowing landscape it commands."

Here Landor planted his garden with myrtles, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, gacias, and mimosas, in great quantities. Landor describes his farm in the following lines :—

"Where the hewn rocks of Fiesole impend
O'er *Doccia's* dell, and fig and olive blend.
There the twin streams in Affrico unite,
One dimly seen, the other out of sight ;
But ever playing in his smoothened bed
Of polished stone, and willing to be led
Where clustering vines protect him from the sun ;
Never too grave to smile, too tired to run,
Here, by the lake, Boccaccio's fair brigade
Beguiled the hours, and tale for tale repaid."

And when he was returning to England in 1835, after five years spent in Villa Gherardesca, he writes again :—

"I leave thee, beauteous Italy ! no more
From the high terraces, at eventide,
To look supine into thy depths of sky,
Thy golden moon between the cliff and me,
Or thy dark spires of fretted cypresses
Bordering the channel of the milky way ;
Fiesole and Val d'Arno must be dreams
Hereafter, and my own lost Affrico
Murmur to me but in the poet's song."

Florence,
Jan., 1890.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Yesterday was a bright springlike day when we started from Fiesole about one o'clock on our pilgrimage to the hermitage of St. Andrew's sister Brigid. We drove through Borgunto,



FIG. 91.—SAN MARTINO A LOBACO.

where two roads branch off leading to this beautiful and lonely spot. The one crossing the tops of the mountains is rough and difficult, although the shortest as a bird flies. The other, skirting round the sides of Monte Magherini, looks down on the valley of the Mugnone to the river's source. On the opposite side of the valley we saw the viaducts of the Via Faentina leading from the church of S. Andrea Sveglia along the hills on the northern side of the Mugnone to Ponte di Sagginale on the river Sieve. They form a striking feature in the landscape. As far as Olmo our road lay through fields of olive and long lines of cypress-trees. Then we came out upon oak and brushwood, and then branched off on a rough mountain road leading across a moor as desolate as any Scottish wilderness.

We passed some very old square military towers on the way, the doorways of which strongly reminded me of some of our old Irish church doorways, the horizontal lintels relieved by a rude arch above. We then commenced our descent to the other side of the mountain, where we saw, on a spur of a hill on which we stood, a grove of tall old cypress-trees, in the midst of which rose the low square castellated tower of Castel Lobaco, beneath the shelter of whose walls rises the little church of S. Martino in Baco. It would be difficult to conceive a more solemn and beautiful scene. From the great height at which we stood, the vast flowing lines of the Apennines, wave beyond wave, stretched out to the horizon, in warm violet hues floating in the tender mists that rose from their valleys, the afternoon sun striking its rays across the sides of the nearer mountains, throwing some into broad relief, veiling others in a golden veil of light—the only spot of verdure being this tall cypress-crowned island of rock.

The road leads down a long avenue, lined on each side by these noble solemn trees, and after passing the castle, a turn of the way brought us on our little church. It is a simple quadrangular building, without transepts or side aisles; the porch and

a tiny round apse at the east end and an old baptismal font on the north wall are the only features of interest it possesses. The priest's house and garden are annexed to it, and from the piazza at the east end we looked across the valley watered by the river Sieci to the face of the hill two miles distant, where is the cave to which St. Brigid, in her old age, retired to die.

The church is described by Ripetti as in the Florentine Val d'Arno, a filial parish of the baptismal church of the ancient castle of Lo Baco, Lubaco, Obaco, now Castel Lobaco, with its old baptismal church, S. Gervasio d'Alpiniano in S. Martino a Lobaco, about eight miles above Pontasieve, placed on a hill between Monte Rotondo and the opening of Strada Salajole, near the source of the torrent Sieci, and at a short distance from the sanctuary of the Madonna del Sasso. A bull issued by Pope Pasquale II. in the year 1103, and another by Innocent II. in 1134, prove that this church and castle of Lobaco were then also known by the name Corte di Alpiniano. Here we find that the plebana church of S. Gervasio, along with the Corte di Alpiniano, and its neighbouring church of S. Miniato, now called Pagnolli, were confirmed to the bishops of Fiesole. It also appears that, in the year 1028, the Bishop of Fiesole, Jacopo Bavaro, had assigned the parish church of Alpiniano in benefice to the chapter of the new cathedral of Fiesole. Later on, the church of S. Gervasio having in its old age fallen into ruin, its baptistery was transferred to its daughter church of S. Martino a Lobaco, long under the patronage of the order of the Serviti. The Pieve of Lobaco owns two filial parishes, St. Brigid at Lobaco and S. Miniato at Pagnolli. In the district of the parish is situated the holy oratory of the most holy Vergine del Sasso. In 1833 the parish of S. Martino in Lobaco numbered 591 inhabitants.

The hermitage or cave of St. Brigid yet remained to be explored, and on last Friday I started for this place by a different route, although it lies within two miles of Lobaco. I went by

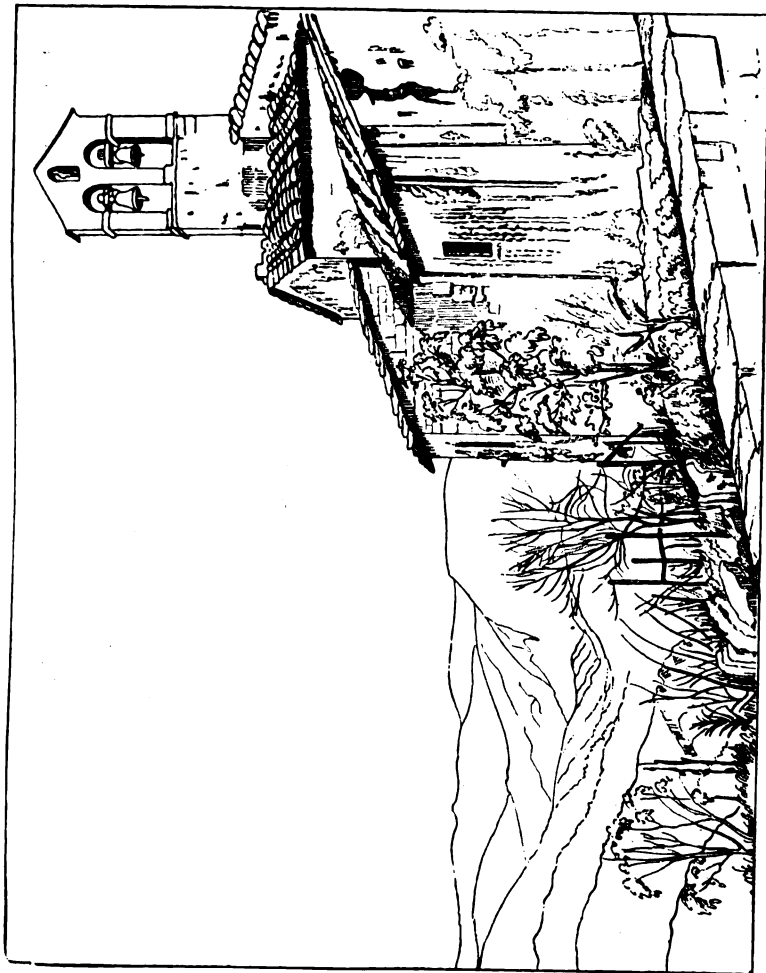


Fig. 92.—CHURCH OF ST. BRIGID AT LOHACO.

train to Pontasievè, the place where the ascent to Vallombrosa commences; there I took a carriage and drove along the Arno to Sieci, the point at which the torrent so called empties itself into the greater river. Owing to a breakwater, the Arno here spreads into a wide basin like a lake or great milldam, and the houses of this picturesque village, built in a semicircle along its banks,



Fig. 93.—CAVE OF ST. BRIGID AT LOBACO.

seemed to rise straight out of it, casting long reflections in its quiet waters. Here the road to our oratory turns north, following the torrent Sieci up to its source, and keeping in the bottom of the valley for a distance of five or six miles. Then, when we had come under the walls of the fortress of Lobaco in Trebbio, we commenced the steep ascent to the hermitage. The church

of the Madonna del Sasso now came into sight,—a striking pile of grey walls, with their lofty tower high on the mountain side. Close to this building, looking eastward, the driver said I should soon see St. Brigid's grotto, and the villagers did seem astonished when our good horse dashed in among them. I found the cave quite easily, below the east wall of the church. A path and a flight of steps leads down to it from the priest's garden. A little altar in the side of the cave bears the following inscription (fig. 93) sculptured upon a shield :—

“Grotta nella quale S. Brigida sorella di S. Donato
Faceva penitenitiis nel secolo nono.”

It will be seen from this inscription that the pious hand who put it there was not very accurately informed as to the history of St. Brigid, since he states that she was sister to Donato, not, as was the case, to his deacon, Andrew. The church is a plain quadrangular building, with a pretty belfry, but no internal feature of interest that I could discover.

Is it not curious that, as my letters to you began with a cave, they should end also with a cave? For here my pilgrimage in search of traces of our Irish saints in Italy must end, for this year at all events. The winter approaches and the days are growing short. As I sat at the mouth of Brigid's cell that evening, and watched the sun go down behind the Apennines, and looked along the lonely valley all brown and grey, save where those funereal cypress-trees made it seem like some vast cemetery, my mind went back to the home whence the faithful sister travelled—back to the green hills of the Holy Island and blue waters of Lough Derg, and the song of its wild birds. Did she, too, suffer from home-sickness as she thought of her long-lost joys and all her early love, or did it suffice to her to find her love was merged in that of Him whose cross she bore?

APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX I.

MYSTIC MIRRORS, FIG. 19, P. 71.

WE may hope that a more general knowledge than we have yet attained of such pagan funereal symbols as were occasionally adopted by early Christians, may cast a light on the meaning of the symbols on the Scottish sepulchral monuments. Mr. Stuart's theory has always appeared to be most unsatisfactory. He says in vol. ii., p. 30, of his work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland": "The conclusion I have arrived at is that the symbols—comb, mirror, books, brooches, spectacles, crescents, etc.—were all objects of personal ornament or use, and that when they appear on our pillar stones, they are to be regarded as symbols, representing the dignity, office, or descent of individuals." Their intention is surely something more solemn than this. They appear along with the cross, the fish, the pincers, the hammer, the nails, the sword, the blossoming rod, all well-known instruments of Christ's passion, or symbols of death and resurrection. And, if we accept Inghirami's explanation of the mystic mirror, no one of those symbols is more deeply significant than this. The Etruscan mirrors were circular in form, thus symbolising the globe. They were of bronze, with a surface so highly polished as to form a perfect reflector. It appears from the figures and subjects engraved upon them that they were meant to convey to devout pagans the idea of divine contemplation. The figures in these groups are endowed with certain attributes, the allegorical significance of which was revealed to those who were initiated into the sacred mysteries. Thus on one ancient Etruscan vase a genius is seen to stand holding up a mirror before a female figure. She, holding a bandelette and branch in one hand, with the other raises a vase with offerings before him.

The mirror, the branch, and the sacred bandelette, no less than the figure of the mysterious genius, prove that here the sense of some occult—perhaps inexplicable—mystery is meant to be conveyed. In another example a solitary youth is seen seated on a rock. The sacred wreath that it was customary to offer to the initiated, hangs above him. The youth, in profound thought, gazes into the mirror. That such mystic mirrors appeared not only on pagan tombs, but were adopted into Christian symbolism, is proved by their representation on the tombs of primitive Christians (*vide* Boldetti, lib. ii., cap. xiv., p. 500). And St. Paul makes use of the symbol when writing to the Corinthians: "Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate (*i.e.*, in this life we see God and the divine mysteries in a mirror, in enigma, that is, in allegory), tunc autem faciem ad faciem;" tunc, then, *i.e.*, when we shall be in another life, face to face. Here we have the language of the time when such mirrors were in use as symbols of contemplation, when the custom was still in practice of placing them in tombs, with the meaning that, the dead having left their bodies here, passed into the other world to meet God face to face; thus seeing that in very truth which, in this world, they could only meditate upon when shadowed forth in the dark surface of the mystic mirror.

See Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland;" "Proceedings of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, 1881-1882;" Inghirami, "Mon. Etrusc.," ii., p. 762; Calmet, "Comm. Literale in Biblia," tom. viii., p. 221.

APPENDIX II.

THE WOODEN BOWL OR MAZER OF ST. COLUMBAN, P. 179.

PEYRON describes this cup in the following words: "Cup of St. Columban surrounded with silver gilt, in which is contained thick glass holding relics and protected by hazel bark. It is said to have been brought from Ireland." The glass vessel contained in the hazel cup was no longer to be seen when I examined the cup, nor did the Parocco appear to know what had become of it.

This cup belongs to a class of antiquities called mazers. King

Edward III. presented to the house of Friars Preachers a mazer cup called Edward and thirty-nine other mazer cups, with a particular injunction that they should never be alienated from this house (see "Archæologia," vol. xlvi., pp. 303-4). They are drinking bowls, and their name is derived from mase, Old German *másá*, meaning a spot—a mazer is a bowl of spotted wood. In the "Rites of Durham" (Surtees Society, xv., 68), full information is to be found as to the use of mazers: "There lay also in the same ambrie the goodly cup called Saint Bede's bowl, the outside whereof was of black mazer, and the inside of silver double gilt; the edge finely wrought about with silver and double gilt; and in the midst of it was the picture of the holy man Saint Bede, sitting as if he had been writing. . . . And every monk had his mazer severally by himself to drink in, . . . and all the said mazers were largely and finely edged with silver double gilt."

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, in his essay on the English mediæval drinking bowls called mazers ("Archæologia," vol. I., p. 127), gives a list of "undoubted mazers that have survived to our time," none of which seem to be earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

APPENDIX III.

LIBRARY OF BOBIO.

"PADRE ROSSETTI," writes Gianelli, "says little of the distinguished library of the monastery of Bobio, but we should bear in mind that two catalogues have been published of it, and when we remember that the codices of this collection are scattered throughout the great libraries of Europe, we may conceive what rich treasures and precious volumes it once contained." The first catalogue of the library of Bobio, made about the tenth century, was printed by Muratori. Arranged according to the names of authors and donors, and interrupted by many omissions, although it enumerates an enormous store of ancient codices, yet it does not satisfy the exigencies of the critic. The second inventory, described as restored in 1461, was

brought to light by the learned Abbé Peyron in 1824. In this the codices enumerated amount to 280 volumes, each of which contains several tracts and treatises by several authors. The fame that this great library enjoyed attracted Giorgio Merula in the year 1493, and Tomaso Inghirami in 1495, who, when they quitted it, carried away many precious codices.

Cardinal Federico Borromeo in the year 1606 carried away many codices for his Ambrosian library at Milan, and for the high pontiff Paul V., in the year 1618, for the Vatican. In the year 1685 Père Mabillon visited this library. Some of the volumes were transported to Turin in the last century, and the library of the Royal University was enriched by seventy volumes from that of Bobio. The greater part of the Bobiensian library thus dispersed throughout the libraries of Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples, and Vienna, being recognized, we may rest assured that its fame will be perpetual.

Most remarkable amongst its treasures were the palimpsests, among the most ancient of which have been discovered unpublished fragments of Cicero, Fronto, Symmachus, and the Theodosian Code.

A very famous relic of this library is the MS. called the Muratorian fragment, now preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan. This contains the earliest extant catalogue (though imperfect at the beginning and ending) of the New Testament books, and holds a very prominent place in all modern works which treat of the New Testament canon.¹ The MS. is one of a collection brought from Bobio by Cardinal Borromeo to the Ambrosian library. It has been described as of the eighth century, but in the opinion of Bishop Reeves, judging from Dr. Tregelles's facsimile, it is even older. This MS. was evidently copied from a MS. of much higher antiquity. It was mutilated at the beginning and the end before it was transcribed, and the writer claims to be a contemporary of Pius, who was Bishop of Rome in the middle of the second century.²

¹ See Dr. Salmon's "Historical Introduction to the Books of the New Testament Canon," p. 527; Dr. Westcott's "Bible in the Church," pp. 112-116; Dr. Salmon's article on it in the third vol. of "Dict. Christian Biography;" Tregelles' monograph upon the same work.

² Extract from a letter to the writer from Bishop Reeves.

APPENDIX IV.

VISIT OF MABILLON TO THE MONASTERY OF BOBIO, P. 182.

BETWEEN the 16th of April and the 10th of June, 1682, Dom Mabillon, accompanied by his brother Benedictine, Michael Germanus, made a journey through Burgundy, the object of their expedition being to examine or to search for documents relating to the royal family. That he executed his task with skill and fidelity, and, at the same time, took an opportunity for doing his own business in his own way of antiquarian research, nobody will doubt. Two years after he drew up an account of his tour, and it was subsequently printed under the title of "Iter Burgundicum." Next year appeared an account of his journey through part of Germany, under the title of "Iter Germanicum." In the year 1685, at the suggestion of Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, the brother of the minister who had succeeded Colbert, and the owner of 5,000 volumes, Mabillon was sent at the royal cost to investigate the libraries of Italy and to procure books for the king's library. He set out with the same companion as before on the 1st of April, and returned in the June of the following year. The royal library was enriched by the addition of 3,000 volumes, and Mabillon published an account of the journey in the first volume of his "Museum Italicum," under the title of "Iter Italicum."¹ On this journey he visited the monastery of Columban at Bobio, of which he has left us the following account :—

"As we were about to go to the Bobian (called by the ancients Ebobian) monastery, rendered famous by the death and tomb of St. Columban, we crossed the Po, on either bank of which the Spanish guards were placed, communicating with each other by means of a bridge constructed of small boats. We arrived first at Bronius, where the body of St. Gothard is preserved in a celebrated shrine; afterwards, by a perpetual ascending and descending of the mountains, on the following day we reached Bobium, which is situated close by the river Trebbia, in a very

¹ See Maitland, "Dark Ages," p. 223.

deep valley, pleasing enough as regards the situation, and well adapted for bearing corn and wine. It was there that the emperor, Henry I., established the episcopate in the year 1014.

"There is scarcely anything in the monastery except the shadow of a great name. The monks have been reduced to a very few.

"The basilica of the monastery, that is, of St. Peter, or of St. Columban, is choicely situated. It is famous for the cathedral of the Blessed Mary. There is almost nothing remaining of the monastery's former antiquity, except the subterranean vaults, where there are four altars, and there were once five. On the principal one, the body of St. Columban is seen on a stone sarcophagus, which was constructed in the year 1480. You must know that this is the proud mausoleum of the once great Abbot Columban, but worthy of being preferred to all the golden coffins in the world. Carved in stone, the figure of Columban is seen, on bended knees, before a certain pontiff, from whom, as a suppliant, he is receiving an urn filled with relics, which urn, made of alabaster, is preserved to this day in the sanctuary."

Here follows a long digression on the intercourse between Columban and Pope Gregory the Great. And then the writer returns to the description of the crypt :—

"In the same vault at Bobium, at the left-hand side of the principal altar, the body of St. Cumman lies, likewise in a stone coffin, with an old epitaph, as related by Ughellus, in which it is said that the tomb was constructed by order of King Liutprand. Two altars on either side contained the remains of SS. Attala and Bertulfus, abbots. A fifth is distinguished by the name of the Virgin Deipara. In the sanctuary is preserved the head of St. Columban in a silver shrine ; also the little knife and goblet or bowl of the same ; the vase or unguent box being the same, no doubt, which Gregory the Great is said to have given as a gift filled with relics to the holy abbot.

"In the same place is retained also an ancient dove made from copper for the carrying of the viaticum, and the hollow figure of a ram, in which we think the holy oil was preserved. In the back of the new cross made of silver some precious stones have been placed, principally, indeed, the agate, on which Isis and

Serapis have been carved with Egyptian letters surrounding them.¹ On the right arm of the cross a priest of Isis with the sistrum in his left hand may be seen, while his right hand is extended as if in blessing; the chaplet on his head ending at the summit of the cross. On the left arm there is an agate without any carved work, and on the lowest portion of the cross there is another with an image of the emperor."

APPENDIX V.

ROCK-MARKINGS: HANDPRINTS AND FOOTPRINTS,² Pp. 143
AND 189.

HANDPRINTS of saintly or divine beings are not so often found as footprints, and therefore I looked at this stone-marking with peculiar interest. (See Fig. 70.)

In the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, as we learn from Curzon's "Monasteries of the Levant," p. 182, there is a stone called Hadjr el Sakhara, and on it are shown the prints of the angel Gabriel's fingers, who brought it from heaven.

In Mexico the hand of Quetzalcoatl is imprinted in the solid rock.

The veneration for footprints, and all the curious stories connected with it that have arisen in Christian mythology, are evidently to be reckoned amongst the traces of paganism in primitive Christianity lingering on still in the minds of the peasantry. Mr. Tylor³ has some interesting remarks on the myths which have been applied to fancied resemblances in inanimate objects to the human form, and the myths of footprints stamped into the rock by gods or mighty men are not the least curious of this class, not only from the power of imagination required to see footprints in mere round or long cavities, but also from the unanimity with which Egyptians, Greeks, Brahmins,

¹ See p. 183, *supra*.

² See paper by the writer in "The Antiquary," No. 17, N.S., May, 1891, p. 209.

³ Tylor, "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 115.

Buddhists, Christians, and Moslems have adopted them as relics, each from their own point of view. And the same writer adds afterwards,¹ "For all we know, the whole mass of the Old-World footprint-myths may have had but a single origin, and have travelled from one people to another. The story is found, too, in the Pacific Islands, for in Samoa two hollow places, nearly six feet long, in a rock, are shown as the footprints of Tiitii, where he stood when he pushed the heavens up from the earth."² "In North America, at the edge of the great Pipestone Quarry, where the Great Spirit stood when the blood of the buffaloes he was devouring ran down upon the stone and turned it red, there his footsteps are to be seen deeply marked in the rock, in the form of a track of a great bird."³ While Mexican eyes could discern in the solid rock at Ilaneparths the mark of hand and foot left by the mighty Quetzalcoatl.⁴

There are three kinds of prints in the rock which may have served as a foundation for such tales as these. In many parts of the world there are fossil footprints of birds and beasts, many of huge size. The North-American Indians, also, whose attention is specially alive to the footprints of men and animals, very often carve them on rocks, sometimes with figures of the animals to which they belong. Again, Anderson ("Lake Ngami," p. 327) speaks of a rock in South Africa in which the tracks of all the different animals indigenous to the country are distinctly visible. This is probably another such sculptured rock. Thirdly, there are such mere shapeless holes as those to which most, or all, of the Old-World myths seem to be attached.

The typical case is the sacred footprint of Ceylon, which is a cavity in the rock 5 feet in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, shaped to resemble a human foot. At one end it presents a straight line, on which the five toes are artificially formed by several tolerably thick, narrow crevices, filled with mortar, and about 8 or 9 inches in length, which jut inwards, the great toe being on the right or east side, and thus indicating that it is a representation of the left foot. The heel is narrowed and rounded off. To

¹ Tylor, "Early Hist. of Mankind," p. 116.

² Rev. G. Turner, "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 246. Lond., 1861.

³ Catlin, vol. ii., p. 165, etc.

⁴ Southey, "Hist. of Brazil," vol. i., sup., p. xx. Lond., 1822.

the Brahmin it is the footstep of Siva ; to the Buddhists, of the great founder of his religion, Gautama Buddha ; and to the Moslem it is the spot where Adam stood when he was driven from Paradise. Here, according to the Mohammedan belief, our common father passed many years in expiatory exile before his reunion with Eve on Mount Arapath, which overhangs Mecca. The veneration with which the majestic mountain called Adam's Peak has been regarded for ages probably took its rise among the natives of Ceylon, whom the sublimities of Nature, awaking in them the instinct of worship, impelled to do homage to the mountains and the sun. Under the influence of such feelings the aspect of this solitary alp towering above the loftiest ranges of the hills, and often shrouded in storms and thunder-clouds, was calculated to convert awe into adoration.

The pilgrimage to the "Holy Footstep" is well described in the following passage from the "Voyage of the Novara" (vol. i., p. 411): "By 6 p.m., we at length reached the summit, and were rewarded with a panoramic view of indescribable magnificence. The mists were almost entirely dispersed, and in the clear, calm evening light, the eye wandered at pleasure over the vast, almost limitless, panorama at our feet, as far as the sea, barely visible in the gray distance. . . . The followers of three religions,—Buddhists, Brahmins, and Mahometans,—stand face to face with each other on this space of barely a few steps, in order to bow before these visible emblems, in sincere devotion to the invisible Deity. The highest surface, which is nearly level, is of an irregular oval form, and is about 60 or 70 feet in length, by from 36 to 40 feet in breadth, and is enclosed within a wall 5 feet in height. . . . In the middle of this enclosure stands a block of rock some 10 or 11 feet high, which on the extreme top has a depression, the divine *Sri-pada*, or Holy Footstep. The adoration consists chiefly of offerings of flowers, which are brought up hither and presented with innumerable genuflections, invocations, and exclamations of 'Sadoo,' which corresponds to the Christian 'Amen.'"

Camoens (in "Lusiads," x., fol. 183) refers to these footsteps in the following verse as translated by Captain Burton:—

“ See in Ceylon that Peak so stark, so gaunt,
 Shooting high o'er the clouds, or mocking sight ;
 The native peoples hold it Sacrosanct
 For the famed Stone where print of foot is pight.”¹

Moor notices the existence of the impressions of a pair of feet cut upon a flat stone about many Hindoo temples, and the tradition is that they commemorated Suatí, marking the place whence the widow stepped from earth upon the funeral-pile or into the gate of heaven.

It is possible that the veneration for footsteps in Ireland existed in pre-Christian times in this island, for, according to Spenser, the old inauguration stones, some of which appear to date from a very early period, bore such marks upon them. The passage occurs in this writer's “View of the State of Ireland,” p. 11, where the ceremonies and rites of the Irish in the election of a chief are discussed :—

“ They are to place him that shalbe their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: In some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon hee standing, receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himselfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.” . . . The Tanist “setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.”

We come now to the introduction of this curious custom into Christian art. In early text-books for mural painters such as the “Mirror of Human Salvation,” the impression of Christ's footprints on the Mount of Olives invariably occurs as a prescribed subject for treatment in the series illustrating our Lord's Passion. When Christ ascended, it was held that the prints of His sacred feet remained upon the rock on which He was last

¹ “ Olha em Ceilão, que o monte se levanta
 Tanto, que as nuvens passa, ou a vista engana ;
 Os naturaes o tem por cousa santa
 Pela pedra onde está a pégada humana.”

seen to stand. "A similar form of relic worship," writes Mr. King, "manifests itself in the very metropolis of Christianity; for the prints of Christ's feet on a slab of basalt, a paving-stone of the Via Appia, have been worshipped from time immemorial in the church of Domine quo Vadis, built over the consecrated spot. The legend is as follows: When, after the burning of Rome, Nero accused the Christians of having fired the city, they besought St. Peter to save himself by flight, which he at length consented to do. He departed by the Appian Way, and when about two miles from the city he met the figure of the Saviour. Peter exclaimed, 'Domine, quo vadis?'—'Lord, where goest thou?' Christ replied, sorrowing, 'I go to Rome to be crucified a second time.' And Peter, understanding the implied rebuke, returned to Rome to die for his Lord."

It is related of St. Thomas, that he not only travelled very far into the East, but that he even penetrated to America, and left his footprints in the rock on the shore of Bahia as a record of his journeyings.¹

Stanley, in his "Hist. Mem. of Canterbury," p. 13, describes St. Augustine landing at Ebbes Fleet "that he might remain safe on that side the broad river, till he knew the mind of the king." The rock was long preserved on which he set foot, and which was supposed to have received the impression of his footmark. In later times it became an object of pilgrimage, and a little chapel was built over it; though it was afterwards called the Footmark of St. Mildred, and the rock, even till the beginning of the last century, was called "St. Mildred's Rock." The footsteps of St. Audrey were long shown on the rock called Colbert's Bed, to which this saint fled for security from her husband after she had become a nun.

The latest myths of this kind that appear to exist in these islands are those of John Wesley and George IV. John Wesley was born at Epworth, and on one or more occasions he preached from his father's tombstone, a flat slab in Epworth churchyard. In this slab are two holes, not much like feet, which were believed to be the marks of his feet, which had miraculously impressed themselves on the stone.

¹ Bahia Hunda, Island of Cuba, west of Havana, West India Islands.

We have found two instances of this veneration for footprints in Ireland. On the island of Inismurray the imprint of a child's foot may be seen on the right hand of the entrance to the station called Trahanee. The legend is as follows: A poor woman carrying her load of kelp along the seashore of Inismurray suddenly beheld a lady of divine beauty and majesty holding a radiant child by the hand, who stood on a slab of rock at her feet. The woman, terrified by the vision, dropped her load and fled to a neighbouring cottage, where she told what she had seen. On returning to the spot followed by a number of the islanders, they found that the lady and the child had vanished; but the mark of the child's footprint remains on the flagstone to the present day.

The other instance is that of an inscribed tombstone in the churchyard of St. Caimin's Church, Iniscaltra, or Holy Island, Lough Derg. It was discovered by Sir Thomas Deane in the excavation of the churchyard of St. Caimin's Church on Iniscaltra, when carrying on the works for the preservation of national monuments and ecclesiastical buildings under the Commission of Public Works in the year 1878-79, and was since that date stolen by a party of American tourists. This stone is adorned with an Irish cross, and bears the name "Cosgraoch Lagnech," with the prints of two footsteps deeply indented in the stone. A stone is said to have been preserved to a late date at Lismore, on which the head of the infant Cathaldus (afterwards Bishop of Taranto in Italy) left its impress, the child having fallen on this stone at the moment of its birth. A similar story is told of the Irish St. Sillan (Silao), who died on pilgrimage at Lucca in the sixth century.

APPENDIX VI.

WRITINGS OF ST. COLUMBAN.

THE writings of Columban are to be found in Migne, "Patrologia Latina," tom. lxxx., and also in "Collectanea Sacra Patricii Flemingi," Lovanii, A.D. 1667.

They are as follows :—

Regula Monastica. Flem. Coll., pp. 4-18.

Regula Cœnobialis. *Ib.*, pp. 19-24.

(17) Sermones. *Ib.*, pp. 41-90.

De Pœnitentiæ mensura taxanda. *Ib.*, pp. 94-103.

Instructio de octo vitiis principalibus. *Ib.*, pp. 104-107.

Epistola I. Ad Bonifacium IV. *Ib.*, pp. 110-113.

„ II. Super Quæstione Paschæ congregatæ. *Ib.*, p. 113.

„ III. Ad Discipulos et Monachos suos. *Ib.*, pp. 131-138.

„ IV. Ad Bonifacium Papam. *Ib.*, pp. 138-156.

„ V. Ad S. Gregorium Papam. *Ib.*, 157-163.

„ VI. Ad Quemdam suum Discipulum. Migne, “*Patrol. Scr. Lat.*,” lxxx., p. 285.

Carmina. I. Ad Hunaldum Epistola.

„ II. Epistola ad Sethum.

„ III. Monosticha.

„ IV. Ad Fedoliura Epistola.

„ V. In Mulieres.

„ VI. De vanitate et miseria vitæ mortalis.

In addition to these, Possevinus mentions an epistle of Columban to Theodoric, and verses against avarice, which he says were printed at Basle in a volume of ancient poets, and he adds: “Sigebertus ait, illum alia multa edidisse, vel ad canendum digna, vel ad docendum utilia: libro de viris illustribus, c. 60.” See Possevini, A., “*Apparatus Sacer*,” A.D. 1618, p. 373.

There still exists in the Ambrosian Library of Milan an old Irish codex brought thither from the monastery of Bobio, which consists of a Commentary on the Psalms written in Latin, which was formerly attributed to St. Jerome, but is now ascribed to St. Columban, and has been held to be the very work he wrote in Cleenish Island. Its great value arises from the notes and glosses in early Irish which are written on its margins. Thus there is the following introduction in Irish to Psalm xxxiii., consisting of eleven lines written on a slip of parchment in a hand of exquisite clearness and delicacy:—

“*Psalmus David et reliqua.* Not certain to us now is the canonical history which is related in this title, unless it be that which is related here: When David went into exile to the

Edomites or to the Ammonites before Saul, much treasure was given by him to Abimelech in payment for killing David, and he went a day then after that unto David, and did not recognize him, for God cast a form of great madness and of a foolish man on that David, to make him unlike himself, and that Abimelech did not know him, though he desired his death. And it is to render thanks unto God after that salvation which saved him, that David sang this psalm below, *i.e.*, *Benedicam*, etc.

“Psalm xxxiv.—I will bless the Lord at all times.”¹

APPENDIX VII.

OZANAM. SCHOOLS OF ITALY IN THE DARK AGES.²

P. 205.

IN those cities of Lombardy where the dispute between Arianism and orthodoxy was rife, the bishops appear to have gathered around them a small number of clerks, whom they employed in the culture of letters as well as in the defence of the faith. In the seventh century Archbishop Benedictus Crispus of Milan took credit to himself for having initiated his disciples in the knowledge of the seven arts. A little later, the Church of Lucca had her schools even under the portico of the cathedral; already the priests Gaudentius and Deusdedit figure there, in the two acts of 747 and 748, as entrusted with the supervision of public instruction. The deacon Peter of Pisa was professor in Pavia when Alcuin assisted him in his public dispute with the Israelite Julius; and among the representatives of the ecclesiastical school in Lombardy we find Paul the Deacon,

¹ From Nob David fled to Achish, King of Gath; but the Philistine chieftains showed so quick a memory of his slaughter of Goliath, that he only saved his life by feigning the madness of a slaving idiot; and Achish dismissed him with contempt. The Irish commentator here seems to confuse Abimelech and Achish.

² See Ozanam, F., “Documents Inédits.”

Paulinus of Aquileia, and Theodulfus, all three clerks, and all three destined to second these reforms of Charlemagne which Italy at first inspired and finally succumbed to.

On the other hand, monastic instruction commenced at both ends of the peninsula, in Monte Cassino and in Bobio. Doubtless the Benedictine rule was not especially concerned with cloistral schools, yet it received, and accordingly brought up children consecrated to the service of God by their parents' vows. According to the rule, reading was a duty, a work by which Sunday was sanctified as well as fast-days. The rule seems not only to have opened the asylum of the monastery to faith, piety, and penitence, but, in the desire for peace and meditation and self-collectedness, the love of letters also penetrated and continued there. Many of the first disciples of St. Benedict, such as Maurus, Placidus, and Marcus, are praised for their application to reading and for their knowledge.

All the traditions of Italian monasticism were in favour of mental exercise. St. Fulgentius of Cagliari held that the labour of his hands was less important than study, and Cassiodorus wrote his beautiful treatise on divine and human institutions for the monks of Vivaria.

While the south of Italy thus shed the light of learning, another hearth was illumined in the north. The apostolic zeal which drove the monks of Ireland to the continent, had led St. Columban to Bobio, at the foot of the wild deserts of the Apennines. He bore to this place, along with the severe observances of the cenobites of his country, their passion for letters, and the necessity which possessed them of learning and teaching. The spirit of this great reformer lived after him, and spread on from those Irishmen who were his companions to their Italian disciples and successors.

In the seventh century Jonas of Bobio wrote the history of St. Columban. His style is formed by study of the ancients; he quotes Titus Livius and Virgil. In the tenth century the library of Bobio possessed the writings of Demosthenes, Aristotle, and the Latin poets of antiquity, but, above all, an incredible number of the grammarians.

It demanded the energies of a very numerous school to produce so many copies of such dry writings as the latter, and

here lives consecrated to God were consumed in copying, not the homilies of St. Chrysostom and of St. Augustine, but the treatise of Caper on orthography or that of Flavian on the agreement of the noun with the verb.

APPENDIX VIII.

EDICT OF LOTHAIR, P. 205.

MURATORI observes in the "Annali di Italia," tom. iv., p. 479: "Sia lecito a me di rammentar qui un suo Capitolare, che già diedi alla luce fra le Leggi Longobardiche, quantunque sia incerto l'Anno, in cui esso fu formato dal suddetto Lottario Augusto. Dice egli di aver trovato, che lo studio delle Lettere, per colpa e dappocaggine de i Ministri sacri e profani, è *affatto estinto* nel Regno d'Italia e però di aver deputati Maestri, che insegnino le Lettere, con raccomandar loro di usar tutta la premura possibile, affinché i Giovani ne caverio profitto," and Ozanam ("Docum. Inedits") has the following remarks on this passage:—

"We must be always on our guard against the exaggeration in the terms of this edict, where 'the general ruin of learning' is assumed. This is the ordinary language of the day to celebrate the restorer of a church as if he were the founder, or the reformer as if he were the author of an institution. There is more of truth in the canon of Pope Eugenius II., who only declares 'that in many places neither masters nor zeal for letters is to be found.' Therefore it is that he orders that 'in all bishoprics, all parishes, and in any other place where they have need, they should institute professors, men learned in the liberal arts.' This canon, issued A.D. 826,¹ quite indicates a concerted design of Pope and Emperor for the restoration of learning. However, Leo IV. in 853 renews the complaints and the orders of Eugenius II., adding 'that it is rare to find masters capable of professing letters in ordinary simple parishes.' In fact we are dealing with an age of iron, where, in face of the Holy See profaned,

¹ Lothair's edict was issued in 825.

of the empire crumbling away, of cities burned by Northmen, Saracens, and Huns, Italy might well tremble for her faith and despair of her illumination. It is at this time above all, and in the three centuries that intervened from Charlemagne to Gregory VII., that we should study the destiny of our ecclesiastical schools.

“In the north, and among those cities which the edict of Lothair had endowed with public instruction, I find Verona, where, in the tenth century, Bishop Rathier announces that he will admit young clerks to orders who have studied letters in his episcopal city. Atto of Vercelli orders that in the boroughs and villages the priests should hold schools, and that if any of the faithful wish to trust their children to them to be taught letters, they should not refuse to receive and to instruct them.

“In the eleventh century Milan had two schools richly endowed by the archbishops of that city. There youths were exercised in all those studies which, in the language of the day, were said to form a complete philosophy, and in a contemporary chronicle two priests are indeed mentioned by name, Andrew and Ambrose Biffi, who were equally versed in Greek and Latin letters.

“At the same period the chair of Parma became famous, and skilled lecturers taught the seven arts there, three of which masters, Siegfried, Ingo, and Homodeus, are mentioned in charts which assign considerable benefices to their care.

“The school of Modena was governed by a priest in the tenth century, but the benefices of the bishops of that day extended outside the walls; two acts, the one in 796, the other in 908, show two rural parishes of St. Peter in Siculo and of Rubiano, assigned to two priests charged with the service of Christ there, who had to preserve the church in good repair and to hold a school for the education of children.

“A diploma from Siena, dated A.D. 1056, shows the clerk Roland as prior of the school.

“In Rome, John the Deacon attests that in the midst of the disorder of the tenth century the school of the Lateran still preserved the traditions of St. Gregory. And St. Athanasius, Bishop of Naples, also following the example of this great pope, founded schools in that city for church music and for secular learning; and he appointed certain among his clerks to the

study of grammar, and others to the transcription of books. For himself, he did not disdain to resume the literary studies of his youth ; and, as if to consecrate this alliance of learning and piety, he, having restored the church of St. Januarius, desired that they should paint therein the images of the holy teachers. 'Nobiliumque doctorum effigies in ea depinxit.'—'Vita S. Athanasii neapolit. ep.,' apud Muratori, Script. 11, pars 2, col. 1057."

APPENDIX IX.

DUNGAL'S BEQUEST OF BOOKS TO BOBIO, P. 215.

Item. Of the books which Dungal, Principal of the Scots, gave to the most blessed Columbanus :—

First.—Origen on Genesis 1. On the Song of Songs, by the same, in one book, in which is contained the exposition of Bede on Esdras, and the questions of Jerome on Genesis, and concerning Hebrew names. Exposition on Ecclesiastes, on Daniel and Jeremiah. One book of Origen on the Ep. to the Romans, in which is contained the exposition of John of Constantinople on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

One book of St. Ambrose on Luke, in which is the exposition of Bede on the same.

The Book of the Homilies of Gregory on Ezeziel 1, in which is contained the exposition of Jerome on the same.

A book by somebody on the Epistle of St. Paul, in which is contained the exposition of Jerome on the Epistle to the Ephesians, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Galatians; and the exposition of some one on the seven canonical epistles.

One book of Augustine upon John.

One book of Augustine on the Trinity.

One book by the same on the City of God.

One book of Jerome on Isaiah.

One book of the same on the Minor Prophets.

One book of the Epistles of Jerome.

Book of Eugeppius in which is contained—

1. The book of the Lectures of Cassiodorus of the Divine Institutions.
2. Jerome on Illustrious Men.
3. The Soliloquies of Augustine.
4. The Exposition of Albinus on Genesis.

One book of Bede on Genesis, in which is Albinus' exposition on John.

Bede on the seven canonical epistles.

One book of the etymologies of Isidorus.

A short exposition of someone on John and Solomon.

A book of Prudentius.

One book of Fortunatus, in which is Paulinus, Arator,¹ Juvencus, and Cato.

One book of Pompeius.

One book of Josephus the historian.

The full Gospels.

Book of the Manual of St. Jerome.

A Psalter.

A book of the Irish language in Latin.

The book of Dungal against the perverse opinions of Claudius.

One book of St. Augustine on Music.

APPENDIX X.

TOMB OF ST. AUGUSTINE AT PAVIA,²

P. 222, *supra*.

THE "arca," or shrine of St. Augustine at Pavia (in the south transept of the Duomo), is attributed by the best critics to the brothers of Venice (Jacobello and Pietro Paolo), and without a shadow of doubt belongs to the Sienese branch of the Pisan

¹ This means "Ploughman." It may have been the name of a treatise, but one asks: Can it be the Roman poetical version of Aratus?

² Lord Lindsay, "Hist. Christian Art," vol. ii., p. 141.

school. It is rather heavy, perhaps, but not the less a most elaborate and beautiful piece of architectural sculpture. The sarcophagus, on which the effigy is laid down by angels, the canopy that overshadows it, the pillars that support the canopy, each and all are covered with bas-reliefs delineating the life and miracles of the saint, and interspersed with small statues of apostles and virtues ingeniously allegorized. These single figures struck me as superior to the bas-reliefs, although, even in them, there are many pleasing figures; the soft contemplative expression prevails throughout, and some of the figures have even grace and dignity. This arca was begun in 1362, and must have taken several years to execute.

The first storey rests upon a base ornamented with *intarsiatura* in black. It is divided into three compartments, in which we see bas-reliefs of the Apostles: St. Peter, St. John, St. James, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew. The eagle is seated at St. Matthew's feet. The statues of female figures on this front symbolize the virtues. Faith, whose mantle, clasped at her neck, falls across her figure from the right arm and hangs down over the left. Her head is veiled, and she holds a cross, turned up so as to resemble a sword, in one hand, and a chalice in the other. Next to her stands Hope, an inspired figure, her eyes fixed on Heaven, her abundant hair confined by a wreath of roses and lilies. Her inner garment is confined by a cord at the waist, and then falling to her feet she lifts it with her left hand. In her right hand she carries a basket of flowers. Charity looks upwards lovingly, and clasps two infant children in her left arm, whom she presses to her bosom, while in her right she holds a human heart. A crown of flowers encircles the veil on her head. Her outer mantle almost covers her whole figure with its large folds. Last comes the figure of Religion, clad in a simple tunic fitting close to neck and shoulders, with ornaments on the arms and breast. Her hair falls in long curls on her shoulders; she is crowned with simple flowers. She holds a papyrus in her right hand and a palm in the left; her feet are firmly planted on a rock.

The canopy above the recumbent figure of the saint is adorned with bas-reliefs illustrating certain events in his life. In the first we see him listening to the preaching of St. Ambrose

along with a number of figures among whom his head is the only one surrounded by an aureole. In the second bas-relief two scenes are represented: first, that in which the saint visits the cell of S. Simplicianus, who discourses with him from his window, and the second, where St. Augustine is seen seated and reading a book that lies open on his knee, while an angel descends from above, bringing him the book of the Apostle Paul which he had seen in a vision. In the third compartment we see the saint at Milan, where he kneels at an altar while receiving the habit of a catechumen. SS. Simplicianus and Monica are at prayer beside him. The triangular spaces in the corona of this monument are also filled with bas-reliefs illustrating the saint's life. Thus, in the first, the saint liberates a prisoner who kneels in gratitude at his feet; in the second, he leads the prisoner back to his home, which is a house on the hillside; in the third, he casts out a demon from a girl possessed of devils, who kneels before him as he raises his hands in blessing.

The sides are also adorned with statues and bas-reliefs: on the right (fig. 77), St. Mark and St. Luke are seen with their evangelical symbols, between whom stands St. Paul; then come the statues of Mercy and Poverty. The figure of Mercy is that of a female with garlanded head, who holds a lamb in her left arm while she looks towards her companion, Poverty. This figure is poorly dressed and carries an olive branch in her right hand, a palm and tablets in the left.

The other side shows the figures of St. Stephen and St. Laurence, with St. Paul, the first hermit, standing between them, their names inscribed in Gothic characters at the base.

The scene represented in bas-relief on these two ends are (fig. 73): St. Augustine teaching in the schools of Rome and of Milan—two domestic animals are to be seen seated at the students' feet; (fig. 77) the voyage from Sardinia when the relics of the saint were transported to Pavia. This is in two stages and a ship in each stage, in the smallest of which a king, a bishop, and a *frate* are seen together. In the midst of the second vessel, which is in full sail, the saint's body with his mitre is laid, while a bishop and two monks watch over it. King Liutprand, a figure clad in mail and wearing a crown, stands to the left. A sailor at the helm and others at the rigging seem

to be hard at work, while buildings at each side represent Sardinia and Pavia.

APPENDIX XI.

SAN PIETRO IN CIEL D'ORO, P. 222, *supra*.

VASARI, in his "Life of Girolamo da Carpi," mentions having seen a very beautiful book of antiquities, drawn and measured by the hand of Bramantino, and to have noticed among those designs the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. The building of this church is attributed to the Lombard King Agilulph in 604. The urn of Boethius was removed here. The ceiling of the principal apse of this basilica was gilded after the fashion of the Byzantine artists; and hence it was called San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. Selvatico, in his "Storia dell' Estetica," mentions that Liutprand caused this church to be magnificently decorated, in order to profit by the ability of the numerous Byzantine artists who had left their native land to escape the wrath of Leo the Isaurian during the rage of the Iconoclasts. Boccaccio refers more than once to the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Novella ix. of the tenth day, where he relates how Messer Torello returns to Pavia from the court of the Sultan Saladin but just in time to prevent his lady's second marriage. He was transported by magic from Alexandria, and set down in the church of Ciel d'Oro on a wondrous bed that had been prepared for him by the Sultan's orders, formed of velvet and cloth of gold, the coverings of which were embroidered with orient pearls and precious stones.

An account of the transportation of the relics of St. Augustine to the church of Ciel d'Oro is given in the following passage from "Hist. des Ordres Monastiques," tom. ii., p. 9:—

"Son corps resta à Hippone jusques en l'an 504 que les Evêques d'Afrique ayant été relegués en Sardaigne par Trasamond Roi des Vandales, y transportèrent avec eux ces saintes reliques,

qui y demeurèrent jusqu'à ce que les Sarasins etant entrés dans cette Isle, et l'aïant ravagée, Liutprand, Roi des Lombards, donna une grande somme d'argent pour les avoir, et les fit porter d'abord à Gennes et de là à Pavie, où il les fit mettre dans une Eglise qu'il avoit fait bâtir sous le titre de S. Pierre au Ciel d'Or. Les Benedictins la possidèrent d'abord, et y demeurèrent jusqu'en l'an 1222, qu'Honorius III. y mit des Chanoines Reguliers; Jean XXII. leur joignit en 1327 les Ermites de S. Augustins. Ils eurent d'abord chacun en partage un costé de cette Eglise qui fut separée par une ligne ou trait que l'on voit encore."

APPENDIX XII.

TEODATA AND KING CUNIBERT, P. 224, *supra*.

A MONASTERY in Pavia, now called "della Posterla," because a little postern door was to be seen in the wall of the city here in former days, was named Sta. Maria Teodata or Sta. Maria di Teodata. Paulus Diaconus (l. v., c. 37) speaks of this sacred place in connection with an episode in the life of King Cunibert, A.D. 688. He was one day at the baths of the city according to the custom of the time (no city at that date being without its *terme* or baths, which were places of public resort), when he met there a very lovely maiden, not of Lombard birth, but of a noble Roman family. She was singularly beautiful, and her fair hair fell almost to her feet. It was directed by the law of Lombardy that maidens of that time should be thus distinguished from matrons, always wearing their hair loose and without any covering or ornament, and happy was she who had the longest and most beautiful hair; and these maidens were styled *intonsæ*, which word has now degenerated to *tosa*, a word used by the Milanese to signify maidens. When women are about to marry they say "*si tosanano*," a custom still prevailing amongst the Jews. The young girl, whose name was Teodata, was observed by

Queen Ermelinda, who met her at the baths, and who then, with the usual indiscretion of women, spoke in high terms of her beauty to her husband, King Cunibert. He pretended to give no heed to her words, but in his heart he was so enamoured of this new beauty that he found no means of escape from her power. He therefore took his Queen Ermelinda to a castle in a neighbouring forest, as if going there to hunt, and leaving her there at night, he returned to his palace and had the lovely girl brought to him there. But it was not long before he repented of his sin, when he placed her in this convent, which has since been named from her Sta. Maria di Teodata.

APPENDIX XIII.

(See Page 237.)

ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS OF IRELAND.

IT may not be uninteresting in connection with these lines of Donatus to notice some other descriptions of Ireland written in Italy at a very early date. The first is from the pen of Caius Julius Solinus, a Roman writer and grammarian, who, according to some authorities, lived at the end of the first century, and to others in the middle of the third. This description is found in his work entitled "Polyhistor," and there is an old English translation by Arthur Golding, which was published in London in 1587¹ :—

"Cap. XIII. Ireland and the manners of the Irish men in old time, not altogether altered to thys day.

"It (Britain) is enuironed with many iles and those not unrenowned : whereof Ireland draweth neerest to it in bygnesse, vnciuill for the sauage manners of the inhabiters, but otherwise so full of fat pasture

¹ "Solinus Polyhistor, with a necessary table for Thys Booke : Right pleasant and profitable for Gentlemen, Marchaunts, Mariners and Travellers, Translated into Englishe by Arthur Golding, Gentleman. At London Printed for Thomas Hacket, and to be sold at his shoppe in Lumpert Streete under the signe of the Pope's head, A.D. 1590."

that if theyr cattele in sommer season be not now and then kept from feeding, they should run in daunger of bursting. There are no snakes, and fewe byrdes, the people are harbourlesse and warlike. When they have overcome their enemies they first besmeere with blood the faces of them that be slayne, and then drinke of it. Be it right or be it wrong all is one to them. If a woman be delivered of a man-child, shee layes his firste meate uppon her husband's sworde and putting it softlie to his pretie mouth giueth him the first hansell of his foode uppon the very point of the weapon, praying according to the manner of their countrey, that he may not otherwise come to his death, than in battel and among weapons. They that loue to bee fine, doo trimme the hylts of their swords with the teeth of monsters that swymme in the sea, for they be as white and as cleere as iuorie, for the men doo chiefly glorie in the beautie of their armour. There is not any Bee among them and if a man bring out of the duste or the stones from thence and strow them among bee-hyves, the swarmes forsake ye combes. The sea that is betweene Ireland and Brytaine, beeing full of shallowes and rough all the yeere long cannot be sayled but a fewe dayes in the sommer time. They sayle in Keeles of wicker doone ouer with neats leather. How long soever their passage continueth, the passengers abstaine from meate. Such as have discussed the certainty of the matter according to reason, have esteemed the breadth of that narrow sea to be an hundred and twenty miles."

The geographer Æthicus the Istrian, whose Ireland lay at the very confines of the world, has also left a short description of the country. He was a traveller of the time of the decay of the Roman empire, born of a noble family in Istria. He seems to have been a Christian, and to judge from his chronicle he appears to have visited Greece before the year 312, but it is impossible to know precisely at what date he lived. He was familiar with the writings of Josephus. The "*Cosmographia Æthici Istrici*" was translated from the Greek into Latin by a presbyter named Hieronymus, and edited in 1853 by Heinrich Wuttke, Leipzig.¹ At page 14 of this work we read the following passage, which was translated for me by the late Bishop Reeves :—

"Then he hastened to Ireland, and he delayed some time turning over their volumes. And he called them (?) *ideomochos vel ideohistas* ((?) idiot monks or idiot historians), that is, unskilled labourers or unin-

¹ "Die Kosmographie des Istricr Aithikos, im Lateinischen auszüge des Hieronymus." Heinrich Wuttke. Leipzig, 1853.

structed teachers. For, regarding them as of no worth, he says : ‘ It is a wearisome labour to arrive at Ireland and to remain here at the far end of the world, but there is no experience, however horrible, that does not contribute to some good end. It has unskilful husbandmen, and its inhabitants are destitute of teachers.

“ Then he sailed to the British Islands and to Thule (Shetland), which he called *Brutanicas*. A most ignorant and excessively horrible people. Pursuing many arts they excel in that of land (? agriculture). He adds that metals of gold and silver, and a great deal of tin and iron, may be found there, and discovered many other things which have not been found out by other nations.”

Another ancient description of Ireland is to be found in a MS. in the Bodleian, Rawlinson, B. 512, fol. 97, line 14. Note on the resemblance of Ireland to Paradise :—

“ Now the island of Ireland has been set in the west. As Adam’s paradise stands at the sunrise, so Ireland stands at the sunset. And they are alike in the nature of the soil, to wit, as paradise is without beasts, without a snake, without a lion, without a dragon, without a scorpion, without a mouse, without a frog, so is Ireland in the same manner without any harmful animal, save only the wolf, as sages say.”

Description of Ireland by the Venerable Bede :—

“ Ireland, in breadth, and for wholesomeness and serene air, far surpasses Britain ; for the snow scarcely ever lies there above three days ; no man makes hay in the summer for winter’s provision, or builds stables for his beasts of burden. No reptiles are found there ; for, though often carried thither out of Britain, as soon as the ship comes near the shore, and the scent of the air reaches them, they die. On the contrary, almost all things in the island are good against poison. In short, we have known that when some persons have been bitten by serpents, the scrapings of leaves of books that were brought out of Ireland, being put into water, and given them to drink, have immediately expelled the spreading poison, and assuaged the swelling. The island abounds in milk and honey, nor is there any want of vines, fish, or fowl ; and it is remarkable for deer and goats. It is properly the country of the Scots, who, migrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts.”¹

¹ Bede, “ Eccl. Hist.,” translated by Stevens, ed. J. B. Giles, 1859, p. 49.

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